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ABSTRACT

Intended to help readers develop an appreciation of the contributions of Franco-Americans to the cultural heritage of the United States, this book, the first of six volumes, presents 14 readings representing many perspectives--from the historical to the sociological--illustrating the thinking and feelings of those in the forefront of Franco-American studies. This volume includes the following articles: "What is an American?" (Madeleine Giguere); "One Piece in the Great American Mosaic" (Robert Perreault); "Louisiana's French Heritage" (Truman Stacey); "Haiti" (Thomas E. Weil); "The Huguenots" (Marie-Reine Mikesell); "The Acadians of Maine" (Julie Albert); "The French in Vermont" (Peter Woolfson); "The Rapid Assimilation of Canadian French in Northern Vermont" (Peter Woolfson); "The Franco-American Heritage in Manchester, New Hampshire" (Thaddeus M. Piotrowski); "A History of Franco-American Journalism" (Paul Pare); "Bilingual Living" (Normand C. Dube); "Cajun French and French Creole: Their Speakers and the Questions of Identities" (Dorice Tentchoff); "La Cuisine Chez-Nous" ("Our Cuisine", Sr. Marguerite Cyr); and "Louisiana's Creole-Acadian Cuisine" (Ernest Gueymard). (LH)

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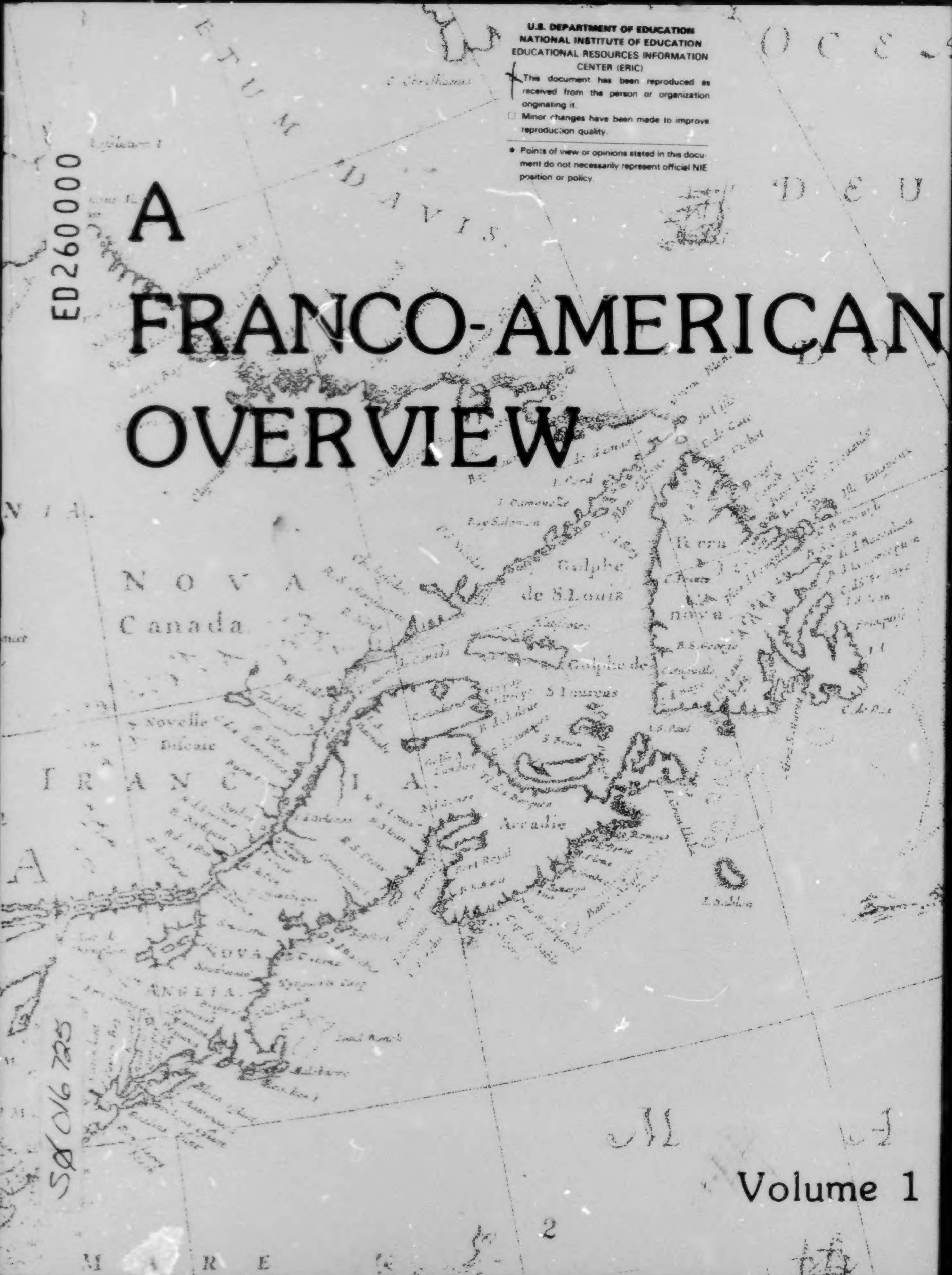
A FRANCO-AMERICAN OVERVIEW



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Volume 1

A FRANCO-AMERICAN OVERVIEW

Volume 1

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INTRODUCTION

This guide is intended for the use of those who wish to find out about or to extend their awareness of *le fait franco-américain* in the United States today. The selections chosen for this guide represent many perspectives – from the historical through the cultural to the sociological – and illustrate the thinking and the feelings of those who are in the forefront of Franco-American studies. We hope that through this guide the reader will develop an appreciation of the contributions of the Franco-Americans to the cultural heritage of our United States.

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WHAT IS AN AMERICAN? *

by

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University of Maine at Portland-Gorham

The answer to this question is in part determined from whence the response comes - a geographic location, a site in a social topography or a place in a cultural base. To take the easier distinction first, the European may or may not mean the United States when he says America, certainly the South American will say, we too are Americans, South American if you wish, but Americans nevertheless; the Mexican will say that he too is an American, a North American, as are his neighbors to the north. Canadians also will say that they are American, North Americans calling themselves Canadians and reserving the simple term American for their neighbors to the south. And, of course, the Canadian usage is also the common American meaning: an American is a person of the United States of America. My talk will deal with the internal usage and meanings of «what is an American?» This is not only important to the United States but also to a large extent determines the definition of us made by other peoples.

If one is a full participant in our society one assumes that everyone else is. In my course in Social Change, I use a Simulated Society exercise in which there is a deprived region; it is a very depressing experience for middle class students not to be able to participate fully in the society because of the lack of resources. They have to scramble so hard just to keep alive that they exercise little or no influence in this society, often trading their votes for food. It is a most worthwhile learning experience for these students to see what deprivation can do to you psychologically and socially. Similarly, it is difficult for us to understand the effects of the deprivation which «new Americans» felt with relation to the people who were already here or who were taking them over. Some of that deprivation takes a long time to eradicate. The pre-American Revolution stock has dominated American society down through the years. The first American President not of pre-revolutionary stock was a very popular General in one of our major and successful wars, Dwight David Eisenhower. One hundred and seventy-five years were needed to make true the Declaration of Independence's ringing statement of equality as between pre and post-revolutionary stock. In 1960 the election of John F. Kennedy to the Presidency proclaimed the equality of Catholics within the American Republic. But we have not yet had a President whose ancestors were incorporated into the U.S. after the Civil War, nor a Jewish President, nor a Black President, nor a Native American President, nor a Hispanic President, nor a Franco-American President. We are all Americans, but «some are more equal than others», to quote George Orwell in *Animal Farm*. Ancestry still plays a larger role in determining degrees of possible participation in the American system than we would like to think. The t.v. production of *Roots* has had the positive function of bringing ancestry to the fore of the American consciousness where we can confront it for blacks, whites, and by analogy for all the racial and ethnic groups in the United States. It has made us aware of the diversity of our backgrounds, not only the Mayflower, but also the slave ships. And for us, as Franco-Americans, it has brought visions of the ships coming first to St. Croix Island in Maine in 1605 and then to Port Royal in 1606 - the first of the Acadian settlements, and then of the ships taking Champlain to found the trading post that was to become the City of Quebec in 1608. Our French-Canadian and Acadian ancestors are with us easily, because of the excellent recording of baptisms, marriages, and burials, by the priests

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* Address to the Tri-State Conference on the Education of Limited English-Speaking Children at Shelburne, New Hampshire, May 6, 1977.

who officiated at them. For instance, in doing some preliminary homework for a genealogical trip to Normandy, Perche, and Brittany this coming summer, I found that one of my ancestral family circle married Abraham Martin, who was the owner of some farm land known as the plains of Abraham, on which the French and English fought the crucial battle for the control of North America. I am sure that I share the relationship with several tens of thousand other persons since the persons coming to New France were limited in number, not more than 10,000 in all, and most of these came before 1700. All of the more than 10,000,000 North American French can trace their ancestry to those 10,000. The French are old settlers in North America, sharing the honors with the Spanish, the English, and the Scotch-Irish. But these claims of old settler status are not validated in the United States culture for the French or for the Spanish. And so we see that length of settlement on this continent is not a major criterion for what is an American in the United States. Perhaps it is length of residence in what is now United States territory? But looking at the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 and the Florida Purchase of 1819, the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842, the Texas Annexation of 1845 and the Mexican Cession of 1848 and knowing that Santa Fe was founded in 1608 and that the Acadians were on the American side of the St. John River in Maine by the 1780's, we know that length of residence within the contemporary boundaries of the U.S. are not crucial to the determination of what is an American.

Certainly it is not discovery, since the French mapped out not only contemporary Canada but also much of the contemporary U.S. territory. The French either discovered, explored or colonized the areas of the U.S. bounded by Maine, Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Wyoming, Montana, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, and Ohio as well as Oregon.[1] So we know that being an American does not mean being first to discover, explore or colonize areas now within the United States boundaries, nor does it mean being an early settler in North America. Being first and being early may have some significance, but they are not crucial determinants.

Does being an American mean participating in American institutions? The first form of participation for all capable adults, especially males, coming to the territory of the United States is entry into the labor force. For adult males without other means of support this is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for being considered an American. Otherwise, there would not be the question, currently, of what to do about illegal working aliens in the U.S. today. For the females, if their work was largely confined to their homes in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the development of the textile industry in the nineteenth century gave women an alternative to marriage, servanthood, or for Catholics, the religious life, and so we find that from the mid-nineteenth century on, the single immigrant women in textile centers were expected to work for a living. But this paid labor no more guaranteed her status as an American than it had for the males.

Is participation in the political arena a criterion for being considered an American? This may be crucial. The naturalization process varying from time to time and from place to place gave an official stamp to one's claim to be an American. Franco-Americans from 1874 on opted in increasing numbers to naturalize. The data for Brunswick, Maine, indicate that peaks may have occurred in election years when political interest was highest and probably voters were solicited. The Brunswick data shows the largest number of naturalizations in the period 1916-1920.[2] Is this the by-product of World War I patriotism or the Women's Suffrage Movement? Unfortunately, the data is not broken down by sex, so we don't know. It is also true that until 1922, women could become citizens by marrying citizens and so they did not have to go through the naturalization process. But they did have to go through the voting registration process which in the twentieth century until the late 1960's, required a modicum of ability to read English.

We will come back to this point of language but first let me describe briefly the immigration of French-Canadians and Acadians to the United States. The first to come were the Acadians who were deported by the English (*le grand dérangement*) from their century-and-a-half old homelands on the Bay of Fundy to the English colonies of North America, to France, to the French Antilles. Many of the displaced Acadians found their way to Louisiana to be the ancestors of today's «Cajuns». Others drifted back to New Brunswick to feel again threatened by the English soldiers and Tories settling in New Brunswick after the American Revolution. So some Acadians moved again to settle in the Madawaska territory along the upper St.John Valley. An attempt to gain secure titles to lands, this second «dérangement» brought the Acadians to what is now United States territory in the 1780's.[3] Other French-Acadians, partisans of the American revolutionary cause, were given lands in Northern New York, called the «Refugee Tract» after the Revolution, and in the Western Reserve. In the first part of the 19th century, there were some political refugees from the anti-French «reign of terror» of an English governor (1807-1811) and then later refugee leaders of the abortive revolution of 1837 in Canada, the Patriots. Both of these groups migrated largely to Vermont.[4] But with these exceptions the migration to the United States was not directly the result of political pressures. In the 19th century the French-Canadians were caught in the classical Malthusian dilemma of too many people on too little fertile land. Farms had been subdivided to the point of diminishing returns, poor land had been drawn into cultivation, markets for farm goods were poor as was transportation to markets. Furthermore, tracts of fertile land were held by the British and inaccessible to the French. All this combined with an ethic of high fertility created a tremendous pressure on the French to migrate. The opportunities for work in New England drew a large proportion of those who did emigrate from Quebec. By 1850 migration to New England developed a permanent character rather than the seasonal character it had had before. Textiles rather than lumbering and the brickyard became the major employment.

During the Civil War, immigration slackened somewhat. However, some 20,000 to 40,000 French-Canadians were enlisted in the Northern armies, many by means of bounties, some as paid substitutes for the U.S. draftees. After the Civil War a rapid development of markets for New England industries created employment opportunities that were lacking in Canada. Mason Wade estimates that at least 500,000 French-Canadians migrated to the United States between 1865 and 1890 and perhaps half a million more came between 1905 and 1929, a period when Canadian immigration again became heavy. In 1940, the United States Census reported the number of French-Canadian born or of mixed parentage as 908,000.[5] This of course, does not take into account the descendants of earlier immigrants such as myself. My estimate of the number of French-Canadian origin persons in the United States today is around six million. We will know more accurately if we can persuade the Bureau of the Census to treat French-Americans on a par with the Spanish-Americans in the 1980 census.

What is unique about this migration to the United States is that it was an overland migration with the distances relatively small so that one could walk and many early migrants did. It might be thought that the relative ease of transportation may have encouraged French-Canadian immigrants to re-patriate more than American immigrants as a whole. We know that in general one third of the immigrants coming to the U.S. returned to the old country. As far as I know this has not been studied for French-Canadians, but I hypothesize that in fact the ease of movement across the frontiers actually lowered the rates of return migration. One could always go back to the old parish and see that life there was in fact relatively deprived compared to life in the States. Certainly we know that this is what happened at the great repatriation Congress in 1874 in Montreal which ended in persuading the emigrés to return to the homeland.[6] By 1900, French-Canadians made up 30 percent of the Massachusetts textile workers and more than 60 percent of those in New Hampshire and Maine.[7] They were in fact well-integrated into the economic structure of New England by the turn of the century. They were mostly citizens either by naturalization, by birth or by marriage. And they were participating in the electoral process, as witnessed by the election of Joseph Cyr to the Maine Legislature in 1845, and in 1873 Vermont had a Franco Congressman, Charles Fontaine.[8] In 1907 Rhode Island elected a French-origin governor, Aram Pothier.

Did this economic and political participation make them full-fledged Americans? Is that what being an American means? The French-origin leaders in the United States had begun calling themselves Franco-Americans in the latter part of the 19th century; my maternal grandfather, for instance, was President of an Association Catholique Franco-Américaine in 1899. By this title Franco-American, our ancestors were saying they were no longer French-Canadian, but American and French. American politically, economically, and culturally to the extent necessary to participate politically and economically, but also French culturally. It was an early statement of a bicultural and bilingual position. Cultural pluralism for the Franco-Americans as for other immigrant groups was an adaptive response to the American environment. They migrated to participate in the American economic system; by the 1800's they were participating in the political system, and by the turn of the century they had styled themselves Americans of French origin -- Franco-Americans. Culturally they would be both, as Bessie Bloom Wessel says in «An Ethnic Survey of Woonsocket, Rhode Island». «In this they were not alone among foreign nationalities in this country. But they are probably unique in having promulgated (by the turn of the century) a theory of Americanism which anticipates [the theories of cultural pluralism of today.] » No other nationality, Wessel says, can claim to have enunciated a theory of Americanization more clearly or to have organized its group life more consciously toward a given end than have the Franco-Americans.[9] They would be bicultural Americans and participants in the economic and political systems of the United States.

Following the interpretation of Andrew Greeley of the Center for the Study of American Pluralism, NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER, The University of Chicago, we find that this Franco-American position is in accord with the American founding fathers who decided that the «central core of beliefs that was to create the American nation would consist of certain political principles as contained in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.[10] Early naturalization laws make clear that to become a citizen «one was not required to give up one's religion or nationality or even one's language (in fact, English as a requirement for citizenship is a twentieth century innovation.)»[11] However grudgingly, the pre-revolutionary stock Americans did indeed admit the immigrants of the nineteenth century «requiring of them (in theory at least) only that they pledge allegiance to the political system in order to achieve equal rights as citizens.»[12] The theory was flawed in practice, the Blacks and Native Americans were not given the opportunity to become citizens. «Orientals were admitted for a time and then excluded. Eastern and Southern Europeans were admitted by the millions, but then the American Republic... (established) the discriminatory quota system» to limit their access. German-Americans paid a «heavy cultural price for being German» during World Wars I and II. «Japanese-Americans were herded together in concentration camps during the Second World War.»[13] None of these limitations affected the French Canadians and the Acadians who, as residents of the Western Hemisphere, had relatively free access to the United States until 1965 and who were never excluded from citizenship, stigmatized as «the enemy» or herded into concentration camps. However, they did suffer from the other limitations. The founding fathers' theory did not require «of immigrants that they give up their own language or their own culture, but in practice the social pressures were so strong that languages were lost and cultures repressed.»[14] The Franco-Americans were caught in this vise of language, religion and culture pressures. Their reaction was to band together, to create their own institutions: the parishes, the schools, the newspapers, and their own voluntary associations. They became an interest group to be reckoned with in local and state politics.

With their high degree of organization they survived through the 1940's politically American, but bilingual and bicultural and consequently for some persons, questionable Americans. The effects of World War II on this ethnic community were drastic. Men were drafted out of their «little Canadas» into the homogenized American military; people moved from their traditional ethnic communities to war-related employment. Many of the latter were not to return to their native areas. Some draftees came back convinced that opportunity lay in the greater American society rather than in the ethnic community. The great Franco-American institutions began to falter: the French press all but disappeared; the Franco-American parishes anglicized themselves and their schools, while the voluntary societies limped on. Many persons both within and without the Franco-American group applauded these developments – the Francos were finally becoming «real» Americans.

Yet there was internal malaise. We didn't know how much we knew of our heritage or how much we were in fact transmitting to our children. For most parents, culture is not problematical, it is; we transmit what we know without reflection. The work of Peter Woolfson of the University of Vermont is especially interesting in this regard, demonstrating the tenacity of values by the similarities of the values of the Quebecois and the Vermont French Americans.[15] For the professional educators in the parochial schools, the situation was different: of course, they were trained to transmit a set of values and norms both religious and secular which included language.[16] Less and less French was taught and less and less of the traditional French culture was taught explicitly as the years wore on. This was the condition of the Franco-Americans in the early 1960's, politically fully accepted, outwardly conforming to the mainstream culture; but within the family and the parochial school a traditional set of values and language orientations were transmitted largely by example and out of habit. The ethnic revival of the early sixties led to new institutional supports for cultural diversity and bilingual/bicultural education programs as well as ethnic studies programs began teaching explicitly what recently had been taught implicitly or out of tradition. These educational programs have given vital support to the implementation of the theories of Americanism of both sets of founding fathers. The view of the American founding fathers and the views of the Franco-American founding fathers on «what is an American» are not only essentially the same but their ideal of political unity with cultural diversity has greater public acceptance today than in any other period in this century. I believe that it is a particularly propitious time to implement educational programs for children of limited English-speaking ability.

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ONE PIECE IN THE GREAT AMERICAN MOSAIC
THE FRANCO-AMERICANS OF NEW ENGLAND

by

Robert B. Perreault

The year is 1976. The United States of America is celebrating its 200th anniversary. In recent years, from Maine to California and from Washington to Florida, the word «Bicentennial» has become part of the nation's daily vocabulary. Cities and towns have held parades and festivals commemorating one historic event after another. Tea has again found its way into Boston Harbor. Paul Revere has returned to do a repeat performance of his famous midnight ride. George Washington, accompanied by his soldiers, has braved the chilling winter air to cross the Delaware River once again. The entire country has plunged itself into a very historical mood, thus reviving an interest in the days of yesteryear. Americans have become avid readers of local and national history. Many are «getting back to their roots» by studying their family genealogy. Others are attempting to recapture the past through the restoration of old homes, city blocks, historical landmarks, and by collecting antiques of various sorts. In addition to this, the Bicentennial has caused many citizens to reflect upon the nation's accomplishments over the last 200 years and at the same time, to examine the present to see if the American people are living up to the dreams and deeds of their forefathers.

The United States is like a large mosaic, composed of hundreds of distinctly colored pieces of all shapes and sizes, each one unlike the next, yet all fitting together to form one beautiful work of art. These colored pieces are the nation's various ethnic groups, people who may trace their origins back to South America, Europe, Africa, or Asia, all different in language, culture, and traditions, yet existing together under one flag in one nation, the United States. In the spirit of the Bicentennial, the present article will recall the memories and achievements of one of New England's major peoples, the grandchildren of France and the children of Québec, the Franco-Americans. It is the story of those who have fought long and hard to maintain their cultural identity in the midst of persistent influences which, if not checked, may one day destroy the ethnic color of the Franco-Americans altogether. The survival of this group as a distinct piece in the American mosaic depends upon its young members of today, who will carry on the Franco-American tradition. In order for them to continue the work of their ancestors, it is essential that they take the time to become well-informed about the history of their people. Hopefully, this article may cultivate within them some sense of ethnic pride which in turn will inspire them to preserve the language and traditions which their forefathers held sacred.

EARLY EXPLORATIONS

In the year 1524, King François I of France ordered the Florentine navigator, Giovanni da Verrazano, to lead a French expedition in search of a trade route to the Orient. This voyage led Verrazano to the Atlantic Coast of North America at the present site of the State of North Carolina. From there, he sailed as far north as Newfoundland, seeing such landmarks as the Hudson River, Block Island, which he named «Claudia» in honor of the Queen of France, Narragansett Bay, and the distant peaks of New Hampshire's White Mountains. Verrazano's brother Hieronimo, a cartographer, drew a map of the explored regions, baptizing them *Nova Gallia*, hence, New Gaul or New France.[1]

The next significant discovery took place in 1534 when François I, still determined to find an Oriental trade route, sent Jacques Cartier, a sea captain from St. Malo, on a new expedition across the Atlantic. Cartier landed at ***Baie des Chaleurs*** on the ***Gaspé*** Peninsula, planted a cross there in the name of the King of France, and discovered the great river which he called the St. Lawrence. As the cold season drew closer, Cartier decided to return to France. During his second voyage (1535-36), Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence River hoping that it would lead to some sea to Asia. Instead, he landed at Hochelaga, an Iroquois village located at the present site of Montreal.[2]

RELIGIOUS DIFFICULTIES AND FIRST COLONIZATION ATTEMPT

While explorers occupied themselves with new discoveries in North America, religious reformers in Europe worked diligently to spread the seeds of Protestantism across the continent. This caused a great deal of strife in England, Switzerland, France, and the Holy Roman Empire (Germany). Intolerant Catholic rulers ordered their soldiers to put an end to this wave of heresy by imprisoning, torturing, and executing those who adhered to the new faith. Likewise, angry Protestant monarchs retaliated by persecuting all Catholics within their domain. France was no exception. French Protestants, called «Huguenots», suffered and died for their religious convictions.[3]

In 1562, Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, a noted French military officer and Huguenot leader, called together several hundred French Protestants to take part in the first colonization attempt in North America. A previous endeavor in Brazil in 1555 had proven unsuccessful. Coligny ordered Jean Ribaut, a French navigator, to lead an expedition to the New World in an effort to find a suitable location for the Huguenot colony. Once there, the Admiral hoped that his people would lead a pleasant life, free from religious oppression. Ribaut and the exiled Huguenots settled not far from the present site of Jacksonville, Florida, and also at Port Royal, South Carolina. In this new land, wild and foreign, the first European colonists found life quite difficult. As a result, they fell into a state of discord, rendering themselves vulnerable to all potential opposing forces.

The inevitable came in 1565 when the Spanish arrived in Florida and founded the city of St. Augustine. Realizing that Florida was not spacious enough to allow Spanish Catholicism and French Protestantism to coexist, the Spanish, led by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, proceeded to capture the French fortress, Fort Caroline, and to murder every last person. According to the Spanish, they killed the French colonists «not as enemies of the King of Spain, nor as Frenchmen, but rather as Huguenots and heretics». The French back home did not particularly relish the idea of having their people massacred abroad, not to mention the fact that the Spanish had obliterated the first French attempt at colonization. Revenge finally came a few years later when a French nobleman, Dominique de Gourgues, led a surprise attack on the Spanish fort in Florida, killing every last person «not as Spaniards, but as traitors, robbers, and murderers».[4] Torn apart by religious struggles, including such horrid events as the Massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572, France temporarily shifted her attention away from the New World in order to tend to domestic problems.[5]

RESUMPTION OF EXPLORATION IN NORTH AMERICA

In 1598, King Henri IV proclaimed the *Edit de Nantes*. Through this edict Protestants were assured the right to practice their religion without fear of persecution.[6] During the first decade of the 17th century Henri IV sent Samuel de Champlain, a former Huguenot converted to Catholicism, on a series of voyages abroad. Champlain established the first permanent settlement in Canada at Port-Royal on the Bay of Fundy, Nova Scotia, in 1605. Another, established in 1608, later became the city of Québec. In addition to this, Champlain became the first white man to explore certain portions of the New England area, claiming mountains, rivers, lakes, and bays, all in the name of his motherland and her king. Along the coast, he explored *Cap Blanc* (Cape Cod Bay), saw the mouth of the *Rivière du Guast* (Merrimack River), stopped at *Beauport* (Gloucester), and visited the *Ile Soupçonneuse* (Martha's Vineyard). He also saw parts of Maine, Vermont, and New York State. Vermont received its name from Champlain's remarks about the magnificent *monts verts*, the Green Mountains. Lake Champlain is but another of the many discoveries attributed to the renowned explorer.[7]

In 1613, Champlain published a book in Paris which contained an accurate description, maps included, of the territories explored during his voyages. Had a few of the Pilgrims who later came to this country on the Mayflower visited Paris in 1613, they could have purchased in several Parisian book shops a copy of *Voyage de la Nouvelle-France*. In it, they would have found a detailed chart of an area which Champlain had named *Port St-Louis*, otherwise known as Plymouth, Massachusetts.[8]

BEGINNINGS OF A NEW SOCIETY

The seven decades which followed the arrival of the French at Port-Royal, Nova Scotia, were marked by a small migration from France to Canada. In Quebec and Acadia, the colonists chose farming as their primary occupation. This was done for subsistence rather than for commercial purposes.[9] As time went on, their small society began to take on an identity all its own. Emigrants primarily from Normandy, Brittany, Le Perche, Ile de France, Poitou, and Anjou brought their various provincial dialects and customs to New France, causing a subsequent fusion of all of these.[10] Thus were born the French-Canadian language, habits, traditions, and philosophy of life. For the most part, these people were quite peaceful, and they found satisfaction in merely going about their daily chores and activities.

COUREURS DE BOIS

In addition to the French colonists who inhabited the Eastern portions of Canada, there existed a breed of men unlike any other. These men were adventure seekers, lovers of the savage outdoors who made their living primarily in the fur trade. They lived in forests, on lakes and on rivers. They hunted, fished, explored new lands in Central and Western portions of North America and traded with friendly Indian tribes. These men are commonly referred to as the *coureurs de bois* or «trappers». A few of the best known *coureurs de bois* were:

- Etienne Brûlé, who came to Canada with Champlain as a mere boy of 16. He discovered Lake Huron, Lake Superior, and Sault-Sainte-Marie. After he had lived among the «Bear» tribe of the Hurons for several years, they killed, quartered, boiled and ate him.

- Jean Nicolet, who discovered Lake Michigan in 1634.

- Pierre Radisson and Médard Groseilliers, two brothers-in-law who discovered the head-waters of the Mississippi River, and who were instrumental in the founding of the Hudson Bay Company.

- Father Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet, who explored the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers.

- Robert Cavelier de La Salle, who sailed to the mouth of the Mississippi, claiming land for France and naming the surrounding area «Louisiana» in honor of King Louis XIV.

- Nicolas Perrot, who explored the Dakota and Wisconsin areas.

- Pierre Gaultier de la Vérendrye, who explored the Souris River in North Dakota, and whose son, also named Pierre, discovered the Rocky Mountains.[11]

Much of the time, Jesuit missionaries accompanied the *coureurs de bois*. The priests went about winning new souls for the Catholic Church while the trappers spent their time claiming new lands for the King of France. Many Indians did not care to hear the «word of God» and therefore the lives of the Jesuits were in constant danger. Their worst enemies, the Iroquois, had a notorious reputation for their unimaginable methods of torture. The story of Father Isaac Jogues and his companions who suffered a countless number of hours being cut, stabbed, dismembered, and burned by the Iroquois is one which demonstrates the unusual dedication and sincerity of Canada's first advocates of Christianity. Father Jogues finally died in 1646 at the present site of Auriesville, New York, when an Indian struck him on the head with a tomahawk.[12] Count Frontenac, the Governor of New France, also had difficulties with the Iroquois, although he successfully suppressed them.[13]

As *coureurs de bois* and missionaries continued to push farther West, France's possessions in North America increased accordingly. By 1700, the entire territory between the Appalachian and the Rocky Mountains was definitely French.[14] Many of the nation's major cities are the result of early settlements established by French pioneers in various parts of the country:

- Duluth, Minnesota, founded in 1679 by Daniel Greysolon Du Lhut.
- Detroit, Michigan, founded in 1701 by Capitaine de La Mothe Cadillac.
- Mobile, Alabama, founded in 1702 by Le Moyne D'Iberville.
- New Orleans, Louisiana, founded in 1718 by Sieur de Bienville.
- Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, founded in

1754 by Pécaudy de Contrecoeur.

- St. Louis, Missouri, founded in 1764 by Pierre Laclède and Pierre Chouteau.
- Dubuque, Iowa, founded in 1796 by Julien Dubuque.
- Chicago, Illinois, founded in 1813 by Jean-Baptiste Beaubien.[15]

HUGUENOTS IN THE ENGLISH COLONIES

Throughout the 17th century, while French Catholics were busy settling in Eastern Canada and exploring the Central and Western portions of North America, the English were colonizing the Eastern seaboard from Maine to Georgia. Although the colony of Maryland had a few Catholic settlements, the Protestant faith dominated elsewhere. Despite conditions set forth in the *Edit de Nantes*, Catholics in France under the influence of Cardinal Richelieu continued to harass Huguenots in order to prevent them from achieving political strength.[16]

Anti-Protestant sentiment remained long after Richelieu's death in 1642 so that by 1685 Louis XIV decided to proclaim the *Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*. Consequently, 100,000 Huguenots fled from France, seeking refuge in countries where Protestantism had become the accepted faith.[17] Many settled among their fellow Protestants in the English colonies.[18] For the most part, these Huguenots were wealthy and educated. Therefore, they were able to contribute economically and culturally to the development of the young colonies. The following is but a small percentage of the many French Protestants who contributed to the founding of the United States of America:

- Guillaume Molines and his family, who arrived on the Mayflower in 1620.

- Philippe de la Noye, who arrived at Plymouth in 1621 and who was an ancestor of Franklin «Delano» Roosevelt.

- Pierre Minuit, who in 1626 purchased the island of Manhattan from the Indians for the equivalent of twenty-four dollars.

- Nicolas Martiau, who was a maternal ancestor of George Washington.

- Pierre Faneuil, a wealthy merchant from Boston who was responsible for the construction of Faneuil Hall.

- Paul Revere, American Revolutionary patriot who descended from the French family of Rivoire de Romagneu.

- Pierre-Charles l'Enfant, who drew the street plan of Washington, D. C., based upon that of Paris.[19]

The list could go on indefinitely, citing the names of many of this nation's best known politicians, authors, artists, scientists, men and women of nearly every imaginable occupation. The French Protestants who settled in the English colonies in the New World during the 17th and 18th centuries became rapidly absorbed by the predominantly Anglo-Saxon society. Many abandoned their mother tongue within a few generations. Others went so far as to anglicize their family name. Today, many «pure Yankee blue-bloods» who consider themselves descendants of English or Scotch-Irish families may actually trace their ancestry back to France.[20]

FRENCH-CANADIAN DIFFICULTIES WITH ENGLAND

The year 1675 marks the end of French immigration to Canada.[21] From the founding of the first colony in 1605 up to this time, no more than 10,000 colonists came to New France.[22] Gradually, the French-Canadians became less dependent upon their mother country, and the two nations slowly began to drift apart, both culturally and economically. Except for their need for military protection, Canadians were independent. In addition to their problems with the Indians, threats to the peaceful life of these colonists came from France's old foe, Great Britain. In 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht ended the War of the Spanish Succession between Great Britain and France. By this treaty, France ceded to Great Britain her claims in North America to the Hudson Bay territories, to Newfoundland, and to Acadia.[23]

The Acadians settled the present day Provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, parts of Quebec, and parts of the State of Maine. Although they had French origins they wished to remain independent. They claimed allegiance neither to France nor to Great Britain. The British were not about to relinquish their hold on Acadia, nor would they tolerate the self-proclaimed independence of the Acadians. After many years of struggle the British deported the Acadians, sending them to the colonies from New England to the far South. This deportation began in 1755 and continued for several years afterward. The British purposely separated the men from their wives and children, dispersing them everywhere. Many families were never reunited. Within a few years Louisiana had become a refuge for the Acadians and today their descendants are still culturally alive, especially in Southern parishes, the «Cajun country». In his poem *Evangéline*, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow dramatizes the tragedy that befell these innocent, peaceful farming people.[24]

THE CONQUEST AND THE BEGINNING OF A NEW REGIME

During the years which followed the deportation of the Acadians, the British and the French fought for control of the remaining parts of Canada. This struggle, known as the French and Indian War, or the Seven Years' War, ended in disaster for the French-Canadians. Although the French defended themselves well, British forces succeeded in capturing the major French strongholds. These included the fortress at Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario, Fort Duquesne at the confluence of the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers, and *Le Carillon* (Fort Ticonderoga), located between Lake Champlain and Lake George. In the fall of 1759, the British forces commanded by Major-General Wolfe defeated the French forces led by Major-General (Marquis) de Montcalm at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in Quebec City.[25]

By 1763, with the signing of the Treaty of Paris, Canada belonged to Great Britain.[26] Since that time, the French-Canadians have sought their independence from the British. When the British régime began in 1763, the French-Canadian population numbered a mere 60,000.[27] Almost immediately, emigrants from the British Isles began to settle in the Maritime Provinces, with a smaller number establishing themselves in Quebec. Several years later, Loyalists from the thirteen English colonies fled to Canada during the American Revolution. Yankee farmers and New England soldiers were also attracted to Canada, especially in Quebec's Eastern Townships.[28] This sudden flow of immigration into Canada gave that country a complete face-lifting. The laws and the economy of the new Canadian government were all geared toward creating a pleasant life for these new residents, while the French-Canadians were kept in subjection.[29] They felt discriminated against, which resulted in their banding together in order to resist the government's attempts to destroy their identity through assimilation. They associated only with other French-Canadians, rarely intermarried with spouses of other ethnic groups and, as a result, became one of the most homogeneous groups ever known.[30]

AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WAR

At the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War, soldiers from both France and Quebec came to the aid of the colonies.[31] They shared one common enemy: the British. France contributed to the American cause in many ways. Pierre Caron de Beaumarchais, author of *Le Barbier de Séville* and *Le Mariage de Figaro*, secretly sent guns, cannons, and powder to the American insurgents. [32] The Marquis de Lafayette, using his personal funds, equipped, armed, fed, clothed, and paid the entire corps of soldiers who were under his command in Virginia. In addition to sending money and supplies, France lent several of her most capable military leaders to fight beside General Washington. These included Rochambeau, De Grasse and D'Estaing.[33] Had France not become involved in this conflict, the Americans might not have won their independence. For example, at the Battle of Yorktown where Cornwallis surrendered to Washington in 1781, French soldiers and sailors outnumbered the Americans by a ratio of nearly three to one.[34]

French-Canadians were no less enthusiastic in their willingness to fight for American independence. Immediately after the war broke out, Henri Laurent, Benjamin Hugé, and Daniel Hory organized battalions made up of recruits from the province of Quebec. These battalions fought bravely and gloriously under Washington.[35] Among the best known French-Canadians who joined the American forces were Major Clément Gosselin, Captain Philippe Dubois, Lieutenant-Colonel Pierre Régnier, Lieutenant-Colonel Jacob Bruyère, and Jacques Rouse, after whom Rouse's Point, New York was named.[36] Ethan Allen had a number of French-Canadians among the ranks of his Green Mountain Boys, including Captain Augustin Loiseau.[37] When the war finally ended in 1783 by virtue of the Treaty of Versailles, the British government refused to readmit into Canada all French-Canadians who had fought on the side of the Americans, branding them as traitors. The United States Congress solved this problem by offering land along the shores of Lake Champlain, known as the «Refugees' Tract», to any French-Canadian soldier who had aided the American rebels.[38] With the birth of this new nation, the United States of America, came the birth of a new flag. The design of the first American flag is generally attributed to a woman of French descent whose ancestors came from the province of Alsace in Eastern France. Her name was Betsy Ross.[39]

Up until this time, a relatively small

number of French-Canadians had lived in the English colonies in America. The French-Canadians being primarily Catholic, the laws in this Puritan society did not allow Catholics to live and practice their religion within its boundaries.[40] During the years immediately following the Revolutionary War the American government, in the spirit of freedom, permitted Catholics to live in the United States.[41] However, they could not enjoy any privileges or rights which native Americans and Protestants took for granted. The average native New Englander was not particularly fond of Catholics, especially those who spoke little or no English. Despite all these facts, the newborn nation to the South of Quebec seemed much more appealing to the French-Canadians than their own country, where the British had the upper hand. Gradually, French-Canadians began to trickle across the border, settling in upstate New York or in Northern New England. They usually remained close enough to Canada so that they could easily travel back and forth between the two countries. Their occupations in the United States and their places of residence changed frequently, but for the most part French-Canadians either lived and worked on farms or found employment in the logging industry.

ORGANIZATION OF THE FRENCH-CATHOLIC CHURCH IN AMERICA

The French Revolution which began in 1789 prompted a new migration from France to the United States. The monarchy and the Catholic Church were among the prime targets of the French rebels causing many royalists and priests to flee to America. Realizing that Protestantism dominated the Eastern seaboard of the United States, French political refugees sought asylum in Central and Western portions of the country, where Catholic French-Canadians had previously explored the land and founded several cities. Although the Jesuit missionaries had always accompanied the French-Canadians on their expeditions to the West, there existed a minimum of organization in the Catholic Church in the United States. The newly-exiled priests from France soon recognized the detrimental effects that this lack of religious unity would have upon the spiritual life of the French-Canadian settlers. Consequently, the French clergymen spent the next several decades founding Catholic churches, schools, convents, seminaries, and organizing dioceses in many major cities. Among the pioneers of the French Catholic Church in the United Staes were Their Excellencies The Most Reverends:

- B. J. Flaget, first bishop of Kentucky (1810)
- M. Portier, first bishop of Mobile, Alabama (1826)
- S. G. Bruté, first bishop of Indiana (1834)
- M. Loras, first bishop of Dubuque, Iowa (1837)
- F. N. Blanchet, a French-Canadian, first bishop of Oregon (1845)
- M. Blanchet, brother of the above, first bishop of Walla-Walla-Nesqually, Washington (1846)
- J. M. Odin, first bishop of Galveston, Texas (1847)
- A. Rappe, first bishop of Cleveland, Ohio (1847)
- J. Crétin, first bishop of St. Paul, Minn. (1851)
- J.B. Lamy, first archbishop of New Mexico (1853)

- A. Vérot, first bishop of St. Augustine, Florida (1870)
- P. Bourgade, first bishop of Tucson, Arizona (1897)[42]

Even in New England, where the French-Canadians had begun to settle in small numbers during the late 18th century, there were enough Catholics to warrant the founding of a diocese. This was the Diocese of Boston, a subdivision of the Diocese of Baltimore, founded in 1810. The first bishop of Boston was His Excellency The Most Reverend Jean-Lefebvre de Cheverus, a native of France.[43] These and many other French priests and bishops aided in constructing the original foundation of Catholicism in America.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

Napoléon I, Emperor of France, needed money to finance his war with Great Britain, France's old foe. In 1803, he sold roughly 900,000 square miles of land, the Louisiana Territory, to the United States for a mere fifteen million dollars, thus relinquishing the remainder of French holdings on the North American continent.[44] In less than one century France had lost all of her possessions in the United States and Canada either by sale or by conquest. The children of France now faced a situation of total independence from their mother country. Completely on their own, the French in North America had to make a decision with regard to the future of their cultural identity. They would either become Americans, while retaining their native language and traditions in order to contribute to or influence the predominantly Anglo-American culture around them, or they would simply allow themselves to become absorbed by the Anglo-American environment.

One may safely assume that the descendants of French-speaking people in the United States before 1800, both Catholics and Protestants alike, have lost their ethnic color over the years. The French are no longer strong in cities which their ancestors founded over 200 years ago. Perhaps the only exception to this is the State of Louisiana. There, many of the Creoles and Cajuns maintain their French cultural traits to this day. To the North, in the Province of Quebec, the French-Canadians have remained as culturally alive as they were the day Champlain founded the first settlement in Quebec.

RURAL LIFE IN QUEBEC

Life in the Province of Quebec had not improved since the beginning of the British régime, and the French-Canadians felt that the time for action had finally arrived. The fact that the Canadian government had separated Upper Canada (Ontario) from Lower Canada (Quebec) in 1791, giving the French-Canadians a certain amount of recognition, did not alleviate the economic difficulties of the Province of Quebec. French-Canadians had much more to contend with than simply not getting along with English-speaking Canadians.

Tilling the soil was no longer done merely for subsistence. For the ***habitant***, farming had become a commercial venture, but conditions for this way of life were far from favorable. The seignorial system of landholding in Quebec dated as far back as the tools and agricultural methods employed by the French-Canadian farmer. Such practices as the rotation of crops to enrich the mineral-starved soil were unheard of in Quebec. Poor roads did nothing to facilitate the transportation of goods to and from the marketplace. In winter, these same routes became virtually impassable. The *habitant* often found that he could not obtain adequate prices for his produce. In addition to this, the birth rate in Quebec suddenly began to soar, probably due to reasoning which stated that 1) Catholics regarded it their duty to produce large families, forbidding all use of artificial contraceptives, and 2) large families meant more workers to till the soil and to care for the livestock, thus enabling the *habitant* to expand his farm and make it more economically productive. As one person stated it, the French-Canadian parental bed was a *manufacture de monde* (a factory of people).[45] There were two drawbacks to this philosophy. The first was the high infant mortality rate during the 19th century. Due to inadequate hygienic facilities, women spent the better part of their childbearing years producing babies who might not live to see their first birthday. This certainly did not aid the farmer in his agricultural and financial pursuits. The second disadvantage was that although a family might have had the good fortune to possess many healthy sons and daughters, the quality of the soil and the methods of farming at that time were highly unsuitable, therefore large numbers of workers would not necessarily produce a good harvest.[46]

A farm usually demanded long hours of hard labor from before dawn to after sunset. This left very little time for the family's intellectual growth. Few children attended more than three or four years of school, if at all. Since their parents needed them at home on the farm, survival ranked first, school took second place. Many *habitants* remained illiterate throughout their entire lifetime, as their economic status did not allow them enough leisure time to learn to read and write. Unable to read a newspaper and too poor to travel, many *habitants* in Quebec knew little of what went on in the world beyond the boundaries of their own village. Only those fortunate enough to come from a fairly prosperous family received the chance to further their education in the city, where the girls attended a *couvent* run by nuns, and the boys studied in a *séminaire* run by priests or brothers. Graduates of such schools usually had the opportunity to enter into a profession or perhaps the religious life. Religion played an important role in the daily life of everyone, rich or poor, *habitant* or professional. The church, generally located in the center of the village, was the focal point of activity, with the *curé* as the guardian of his flock. French-Canadians felt that religion kept them united, and this in turn helped them to preserve their ethnic identity.[47]

THE INSURRECTION OF 1837-1838

Taking into account the above factors, those being the *habitant*'s hard work with little reward, poor living conditions, lack of education, inadequate representation in the government, and general dislike of the French-Canadians by English-speaking Canadians, it is evident that a change was in order. Several concerned citizens grouped together to found the *Société des Fils de la Liberté* in Montreal, which eventually led to the famous Insurrection of 1837-1838. Under the leadership of Louis-Joseph-Papineau, Ludger Duvernay, Georges-Etienne Cartier, and Denis Viger, approximately 2,000 rebels armed with clubs, pitchforks, wooden guns, and any other available «instruments of battle», rioted in several villages including St-Denis, St-Charles, and St-Eustache. Obviously lacking in sophisticated weaponry, the insurgents met with spontaneous and merciless defeat at the hands of 3,000 soldiers sent by Sir John Colborne, commander-in-chief of the Canadian armed forces. The government demonstrated to the French-Canadians that it would not give in to their demands for a better way of life on the farm, nor would it tolerate any uprisings such as this one. Although many rebels escaped punishment by fleeing to the United States, the Canadian government managed to arrest and imprison over 1,000 of them. Many were deported to such far away places as Bermuda and Australia. Twelve insurrectionists met their fate at the end of a rope. To the French-Canadians, the word «rebel» did not apply to any of these men. A more appropriate term was *patriote*.[48]

A smaller number of *patriotes* who had fled to the United States settled temporarily in Northern New England and in upstate New York. In Burlington, Vermont, there lived a small cluster of French-Canadians who had migrated from Quebec over the years. There, Ludger Duvernay, one of the leaders of the Insurrection, settled and founded a French-language newspaper, *Le Patriote*, in which he advocated Canada's independence from Great Britain. The newspaper lasted but a few months since Burlington's French-speaking population did not take an active interest in Canadian politics. They now lived in the United States and that was their only concern.[49] In 1842, the Canadian government granted amnesty to the exiled *patriotes*, therefore allowing many to return to their homeland.[50] This, of course, did not relieve the economic woes of the *habitant*. As Quebec's population steadily rose each year, life in rural areas grew harder. The time for a redistribution of the population had finally arrived.[51] The number of people in Quebec far exceeded the proportionate amount of productive land to feed everyone.

NEW ENGLAND MILL TOWNS

The final years of the 18th century saw the birth of the textile industry in New England. Prior to this time, most natives of the six-state region had chosen farming as their major occupation. Enterprising industrialists and capitalists, influenced by the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain, recognized the potential value of New England's mighty rivers as sources of water power to drive the machinery of large textile plants. During the early years of the 19th century they visited various areas along the banks of such rivers as the Connecticut, the Blackstone, the Quinebaug, the Merrimack and the Saco, viewing these locations as ideal spots for planned industrial centers. During the next several decades, these industrialists went about building large factories, constructing corporation housing for millworkers, laying out streets, parks, cemeteries, and trying to make these new towns and cities as attractive as possible. Soon, Yankee farmers and their families left the country and headed for the city to take advantage of its economic opportunities. The results of the many years of planning and engineering on the part of these enterprising capitalists proved worthy of their efforts. Everywhere, former farmlands were blossoming into thriving industrial centers.[52]

A POT OF GOLD JUST SOUTH OF THE BORDER

Word of the «streets paved with gold» in the United States soon spread throughout the Province of Quebec, bringing new hope of financial salvation to the land-starved French-Canadian *habitants*. The building of new cities in New England offered an unlimited variety of occupations. A person could work inside the textile mill, performing any one of many operations in the production of cloth, or, if one preferred outside work, there was always a demand for carpenters and bricklayers. Although the textile industry became the livelihood of the majority of French-Canadians, there were other employment opportunities including work in a paper mill, railroad work, or woodchopping. Women often ran boarding houses or were employed as seamstresses. The first to take advantage of the need for laborers in New England mill towns were usually young single men from Quebec. They would spend their summer vacation working in the factories. In the fall, they often returned home wearing fine looking factory-made clothes and perhaps carried a gold watch or other piece of elegant jewelry. They always seemed to have a surplus of spending money. This often impressed relatives and friends, who later followed suit.[53] Those who had previously spent the summer months in New England began to remain there longer, sometimes all year. Within a short period of time, poor farmers with large families became aware of the «pot of gold» which lay South of the Border. A few of the cities and towns which attracted French-Canadians were:

Maine: Auburn, Biddeford, Brunswick, Lewiston, Waterville.

New Hampshire: Berlin, Manchester, Nashua, Somersworth.

Vermont: Barre, Burlington, Rutland, St. Albans, St. Johnsbury, Winooski.

Massachusetts: Chicopee, Fall River, Holyoke, Lawrence, Lowell, New Bedford, Southbridge, Springfield, Worcester.

Connecticut: Danielson, Moosup, North Grosvenordale, Putnam, Willimantic.

Rhode Island: Arctic Centre (today West Warwick), Central Falls, Pawtucket, Warren, Woonsocket.[54]

The usual pattern of family migration went as follows. After the family had discussed and pondered the situation, the father, alone or accompanied by several of the older children, made the long journey to New England. He usually went to a town or a city where he knew someone, a relative or former neighbor. He generally boarded with this person until he could find a suitable apartment. He immediately sought work for himself and also for the few children whom he had brought with him. If he were lucky, he might secure a position with the same company that employed his host. As soon as he had accumulated a sizeable sum of money, his next task would be to find lodgings large enough to house his entire family. Once assured that he had done the right thing by migrating to this country, the father would then either return to Canada to get the remaining family members or he would send for them. This prompted more deliberation. Would he sell his farm, figuring that this was a permanent move? On the other hand would he keep it, hoping to return to Canada in order to revive his run-down farm with money earned in the factories? Some French-Canadians wanted to return, but few actually did.[55]

METHODS OF TRANSPORTATION

Migration to the United States from Quebec was relatively slow during the 1840's due to a lack of adequate transportation. Families usually traveled in small wagons drawn by one or two horses. They packed only the bare necessities. If space allowed it, family members could take turns riding in the back of the wagon. Since there was always someone walking, the journey generally lasted several weeks. Emigrants slept wherever they could find shelter for the night. At times, they encountered unfriendly New Englanders who took pleasure in mocking, harassing and even assaulting them because they were «foreigners». By the early 1850's, the completion of major railroad lines between Canada and New England shortened and facilitated the long trip to the «promised land».[57] Instead of taking several weeks, it now only took one or two days, eliminating the inconveniences of a long tiring journey. The only real incommodity was the fact that trains were filled beyond capacity, making the ride very numbing and uncomfortable.

ADJUSTMENT TO URBAN INDUSTRIAL LIFE

The arrival in the «big city» must have shocked those who, up until then, had seen nothing beyond the Quebec countryside: massive brick factories, wide streets lined with incredibly large business blocks, and austere Puritanical-looking people who all seemed cold and unsympathetic. Many French-Canadians must have wondered if they could survive the emotional stress of being cast into a culture so unlike anything they had ever known in the past. Others wondered what would become of their language and religion in this «pagan» country. For the majority of French-Canadians, these first impressions, merely an example of culture shock, disappeared within a matter of months, as they became settled in their new jobs, new apartments, and new way of life.[58] Since conditions in this country far surpassed the poverty which they had experienced in Canada, these hard-working, industrious farmers had little difficulty adjusting to urban life. They possessed great manual dexterity and their need to survive economically warranted their rapid adjustment to life in New England.[59]

CANADIAN GOVERNMENT SOUNDS THE ALARM

As more tales of good fortune in the United States spread across the Canadian border, migration fever increased and became contagious. The Canadian government suddenly realized that its neglect and poor treatment of the people in Quebec was causing a gradual depletion of the province's population. Parliament appointed a committee to study the reasons for this sudden epidemic of migration fever. The results proved devastating. The committee found that during the period from 1844 to 1849 over 10,000 French-Canadians had left the Montreal area, and another 4,000 had migrated to New England from the Quebec City area.[60] Overall, during the period from 1840-1850, some 30,000 poverty-stricken ***habitants*** had taken the road to the South.[61] The Canadian government initiated programs whereby expatriates could obtain land grants and financial aid if they would return to Canada. Some French-Canadians took advantage of the offer. Most, however, returned to the United States within a few years.

DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN FRENCH AND IRISH CATHOLICS

The French-Canadians had not lived in this country very long when they received their first taste of religious and ethnic conflict with their fellow Catholics, the Irish.[62] During the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries, the Irish Catholics had migrated to the United States in small numbers. They settled primarily in Maryland and Virginia, where Catholics were less open to religious persecution than they were in other areas. Still, they experienced a certain degree of intolerance on the part of the native Protestants. In 1845 a potato blight occurred in Ireland. This particular one was more serious than those of 1740 and 1821. Consequently, many peasants were dying because of famine, illness, and poverty. The Irish, like the French-Canadians, had heard wild stories of wealth and riches in the United States. During the 1840's, thousands upon thousands of Irish farmers emigrated to America and settled along the Eastern seaboard. In many of New England's industrial centers the Irish far outnumbered the French-Canadians. As a result, they soon dominated the Catholic Church hierarchy in the United States, originally controlled by French exiled priests after the French Revolution.

Several reasons lay behind the mutual distrust between the French-Canadians and the Irish. First and foremost came the language barrier. Since many French-Canadians had come to New England only for financial purposes, with the intention of returning home in the near future, most never bothered to learn the English language. The Irish, who came from a background which was as poor and as intellectually deprived as that of the French-Canadians, certainly had no knowledge of the French language. Another way in which the two groups differed was in the domain of religious authority and parish finances. Canada's first bishop, François de Montmorency-Laval, had instituted the trustee system during the 17th century. Under this system, the *curé* and an appointed parish council had control of all finances. Parishioners regarded their *curé* as their father and guardian who always had their best interests at heart. Bishops and other members of the church hierarchy lived in Quebec's large cities, having limited contact with people in rural areas. As a result, church matters in Canada were run locally. In the United States, the Irish church hierarchy controlled parish funds through the Corporation Sole system. Under this system, more emphasis was placed upon the bishop's authority, and there existed very little control on the parish level. Accustomed to dealing directly with their pastor who could be approached at any given time, French-Canadians did not agree with the Irish power structure in the Church. Bishops, on the other hand, tended to remain remote and difficult to reach.[63]

When the French-Canadians first began to settle in New England's industrial centers they had to attend Mass in the Irish parishes, the only existing Catholic churches in this region. Occasionally a French-Canadian missionary priest might have passed through town, visiting and ministering to the spiritual needs of his compatriots.[64] However, for the most part, French-Canadians dealt with Irish priests. Unable to understand English-language sermons, many French-Canadians began to feel alienated. Some stopped attending Mass altogether, figuring that they could not benefit from something which they could not comprehend. Certain members of the French-Canadian community, concerned with the survival of their faith (faith being regarded as the guardian of ethnic identity and language) demanded separate parishes with French-speaking priests. This, they felt, would solve all their problems. [65]

THE FIRST PARISH: BURLINGTON,VERMONT

The first French-Canadian parish in New England was founded in Burlington, Vermont in 1850 by a group of approximately 300 French-speaking Catholics under the guidance of Messire Mignault. M. Mignault was pastor at Chambly, P.Q. and vicar-general of the Diocese of Boston. Having obtained a plot of land and the permission to build a separate parish, the French-Canadians of Burlington thought that their troubles had finally come to an end. The great disappointment came when the Irish began to protest the separation. The French-Canadians were forced to build a church several miles outside the city in order to maintain peace between themselves and the Irish. This was perhaps the first major conflict between these two nationalities. It, however, was minor when compared to what lay ahead. The first French-Canadian parish in New England adopted St. Joseph as its patron saint and Reverend Joseph Quévillon of Ste-Elisabeth, P.Q. became the first pastor. Three years later the State of Vermont became a separate diocese. The Most Reverend Louis de Goësbriand, a native of the Province of Brittany, France was its first bishop. By 1856, the French-Canadians of Vermont had a second parish, *La Nativité de la Sainte Vierge* in Swanton.[66]

THE KNOW-NOTHING MOVEMENT

Apart from the above-mentioned difficulties within the Catholic Church, there existed an even more serious external problem, Knownothingism.[67] This phenomenon stemmed from the early 19th century Native American Movement comprised of Protestants who both hated and feared Catholics in the United States. The Know-Nothings began as a secret society. They were labeled as such because whenever someone would question them concerning the activities and goals of their group, they merely replied «I don't know.» Hostile toward all Catholics and foreigners, the Know-Nothings advocated denying American citizenship to both groups. They disliked Catholics because the latter accepted employment in the mills, regardless of the low wages and long hours, thus taking jobs away from native Americans who demanded more favorable working conditions. They also feared Catholics because they believed that the Irish, the French-Canadians, and other Catholic groups would one day unite and eventually turn the nation into a Papist-controlled state.

The Know-Nothings formed their own political party, whose candidates secured key positions in the federal, state and local governments. They attempted to introduce laws which discriminated against Catholics. In some areas Catholics had no basic rights (i.e. freedom to practice their faith openly, suffrage, holding public office) to begin with. The Know-Nothing Movement merely added to the already unfavorable situation. Followers of this movement went about creating riots wherein they assaulted and even murdered Catholics. In these riots, the Know-Nothings often stoned or burned the homes, churches, schools, and convents of the Catholics. By the end of the 1850's, after eight or nine years of fighting, the Know-Nothing Movement finally dwindled out of existence. However, its effects on the Catholic Church lingered on well into the 20th century.

The Irish hierarchy in the Church decided that the Catholics could have defended themselves against the Know-Nothings much more efficiently had there been more unity between the French-Canadians and the Irish. They concluded that in the future, these two groups should merge into one powerful religious body, able to combat all outside forces. This meant that there would no longer be any separate or national parishes. All Catholics, regardless of national origin, must belong to the same parish, with English as the official language, thus giving the Catholic Church a more «American» image, less prone to outside attack. To the homogeneous French-Canadians this represented a threat to the survival of their language and culture. As expected, they refused to become assimilated. They desired separate parishes, where their own clergy could preach to them in their native tongue and where their children could learn to respect and transmit their ethnic traditions to future generations. They felt that their parishes had kept them culturally alive in Quebec and that they would do the same in New England. Because of these feelings many more conflicts would arise within the Catholic Church during the six or seven decades that followed.[68]

EFFECTS OF THE CIVIL WAR ON FRENCH-CANADIANS

The secession of the Southern states and the subsequent outbreak of the Civil War affected French-Canadians both in the United States and in Canada. As more and more men went off to join the ranks of the Union Army, New England's factories lost much of their work force. French-Canadians in the mills accompanied their Yankee and Irish comrades to the Southern battlefields. Factory owners, recognizing the diligence and mechanical aptitude of the French-Canadians, decided to replenish their depleted work force by sending agents to the Province of Quebec in order to recruit new help. These mill agents went from village to village, relating stories about the tremendous opportunities afforded by the textile industry in New England.[69] While spreading their propaganda, they often neglected to mention the disadvantages such as the intense noise, the cotton dust, the long hours, the low wages, and the cockroaches, all «vital» elements in the operation of a textile mill. By today's standards, one might view this as exploitation, but when compared to the conditions of life in 19th century Quebec, the New England industrial centers offered a far superior environment.

A few of the more skilled French-Canadians became factory foremen when mill owners realized that a French-speaking «boss» could direct his French-Canadian workers more efficiently.[70] This situation resembled that of the parish. Under an English-speaking pastor French-Canadians were apathetic and unruly, but given a French-speaking pastor, they immediately became enthusiastic and cooperative.[71] By the time of the Civil War, English, Scottish, and German immigrants had begun to flood the American labor market, seeking a better life. While importing many thousands of immigrants from Quebec and Europe for labor purposes, mill owners never once stopped to think of the effects that this massive migration would have on both the immigrants themselves and on American society.

In addition to bringing French-Canadians to the United States to fill the vacancies left by those who had gone off to fight, the Civil War also attracted many young men from Quebec for military purposes. Some came voluntarily, living up to the reputation of the French-Canadians as seekers of adventure. Others were tricked into joining the Union Army, falling prey to military agents' promises of «a well-paying job, mostly outdoor work». These agents, much like the mill agents, forgot to tell their prospective recruits exactly what they meant by «outdoor work». Young men, eager to earn a few extra dollars, signed Army contracts which they most likely could not even read.[72]

No one actually knows the precise number of French-Canadians who fought in the Civil War because historians have never agreed with one another when presenting statistical data on this subject. Immediately following the war, they quoted the figure of approximately 20,000. As time went on, the statistics became more impressive. Within several years the number climbed to 30,000, then to 40,000, and finally to 50,000. In recent years, some historians have questioned the validity of these figures, feeling that even the original estimate of 20,000 may have been a bit of an exaggeration.[73] In any case, it is certain that the French-Canadians made a sufficient contribution to this particular war effort. This was despite the fact that in some states they were recognized merely as second rate citizens. Among the French-Canadians who served during the Civil War was Major Edmond Mallet, a native of Canada who had emigrated to New York State with his family while still a child. Another famous French-Canadian who participated in the war, employing his talents as a first-class musician, was Calixa Lavallée, author of the Canadian national anthem *O Canada*.[74]

EMIGRATION FROM QUEBEC ACCELERATES

The years following the Civil War saw the migration of French-Canadians to the United States reach alarming proportions. From 1866 to 1875, roughly 50,000 people left the Province of Quebec yearly.[75]

Meanwhile, the Canadian government stood by, watching Quebec's *habitants* board the daily trains which brought them to various New England mill towns. Very little was done to prevent this exodus. The government's sentiments may be summed up quite bluntly by quoting a legendary statement attributed to Georges-Etienne Cartier, one of the leaders of the Insurrection and later a prominent Canadian statesman: «Let them go, it is the rabble which is leaving».[76] Priests in Canada denounced those who had chosen to foresake their homeland, saying that the emigrants would lose their faith. Pastors warned their parishioners not to follow those who cared nothing for their country or their religion.[77] These Canadian clergymen may have had good intentions, but they most certainly erred in their evaluation of the religious fidelity of the French-Canadians in New England. Conflicts which had occurred in the past merely served to strengthen and unify the French-Canadians in their efforts to maintain their faith and cultural traditions.

THE BIRTH OF FRENCH-CANADIAN INSTITUTIONS

Since peace had returned to the United States, many more French-Canadians had decided to make this country their permanent home. At last the time had come to create institutions which French-Canadians felt would act as the safeguards of their heritage. These institutions were the church, the school, the club or society, and the newspaper.[78] Although they had lived in the United States for several decades, the French-Canadians had never seriously considered founding their own institutions since many families had come here with the intention of returning to Canada. The only exceptions to this were in a few towns in Northern Vermont where the French-Canadian population had developed more rapidly because of their proximity to the Canadian border.

Prior to the Civil War, the majority of French-Canadians who had migrated to the New England area were former *habitants* who now labored in the factories and who therefore belonged to the working class. Although they may have realized the need for institutions of their own, they lacked the time, the finances, and the necessary leadership to initiate such a monumental undertaking. After the war, however, many French-Canadian professional people began to follow the wave of migration to the United States, well aware that their compatriots in this country's industrial centers needed priests, doctors, journalists, merchants, and businessmen. The task of founding French-Canadian institutions would fall upon these leaders of society, for they possessed the necessary qualities and resources to execute such a project.

THE SOCIETY

In most cities, the club or society emerged before any of the other institutions because it was the one endeavor which could bring people together at minimal expense. The main goal of the society was to preserve the language and culture of the French-Canadians, and to resist assimilation.[79] Once organized, the society could then proceed to assume new responsibilities. This included obtaining a priest from Canada to found a parish or searching for a group of journalists to begin the publication of a French-language newspaper. A good number of these societies called themselves *La Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, modeled after that of Montreal. Generally, these organizations remained on a local level, having limited contact with their sister societies in other cities. In addition to uniting French-Canadians in the community, the society had various other functions, such as aiding newly-arrived immigrants from Quebec in establishing themselves in their new environment. Some societies provided their members with a rather primitive type of life insurance plan, covering the cost of burial as well as contributing a few extra dollars to the grieving family of the deceased.[80]

THE NEWSPAPER

French-language journalism began at about this same time in the New England area. There had been other French newspapers in the past, such as *La Gazette Française* (Newport, Rhode Island, 1780), *Le Courrier de Boston* (1789), *La Detroit Gazette* (1817), *La Gazette Française* (Detroit, 1825), and Ludger Duvernay's *Le Patriote* (Burlington, Vermont, 1838).[81] However, most of these newspapers lasted but a few months, since they seldom treated subjects that French-Canadian working-class immigrants could identify with.

The aim of this new breed of French-Canadian journalists was to create newspapers that dealt with the particular situations and problems of their readers. The first such newspapers, *Le Protecteur Canadien*, appeared in Burlington, Vermont in 1868. It was founded by Reverend Zéphirin Druon, pastor at St. Albans, Vermont and vicar-general of the Diocese of Burlington, and his associate Antoine Moussette, a merchant, also from St. Albans. This journal expressed a genuine interest in the religious and cultural activities of the French-Canadians in the United States. It had a wide circulation, reaching as far as the Midwest. Unfortunately, the owners were forced to cease publication in 1871 following a fire in their headquarters. However, its strong influence prompted the founding of more newspapers and it attracted a number of French-Canadian priests to come to New England to found more parishes.[82]

Perhaps the best known French-Canadian journalist in the nation during the 19th century was Ferdinand Gagnon. Not yet twenty years of age, Gagnon left his home town of St-Hyacinthe to join his parents who had established themselves in Concord, New Hampshire. One year later, in 1869, he moved to Manchester, New Hampshire, where he founded that city's first French-language newspaper, *La Voix du Peuple*, which lasted approximately six months. He then moved to Worcester, Massachusetts where, after several years of failure with one newspaper after another, he founded his famous journal, *Le Travailleur*, in 1874. During the next several years, this newspaper enjoyed enormous success. In 1886, Gagnon died prematurely, not yet 37 years of age. *Le Travailleur* outlived its founder by only a few years as it ceased to be published in 1892.[83] From the time of the founding of these first French-Canadian newspapers up to the turn of the century, several hundred French-language journals were born. Some lasted only one or two issues while others went on for many years. Although the beginnings of French journalism in the United States met with defeat, they laid the foundation for an institution that flourished throughout the first half of the 20th century.

THE CHURCH

The most important of all French-Canadian institutions was undoubtedly the church. During the late 1860's and early 1870's, priests from Canada arrived in New England's major French-Canadian centers to care for the spiritual life of their compatriots, the life which these people had known for so many years in Quebec. Today, whenever some of the «old timers» in their 80's and 90's recall their childhood days when the churches had not yet attained their 25th anniversary, they will most likely tell stories about *le vieux curé-fondateur* and all that he did for his parishioners. Depending upon the city or town, they will mention names like Primeau, Bédard, Millette, Chevalier, and Hévey all pioneer clergymen of the New England French-Canadian parishes. By 1875, the steeple of the French-Catholic church adorned the skyline of every major industrial center in the six-state region, assuring the survival of the spiritual life of all French-Canadians.[84]

THE SCHOOL

After the church, the school ranked as the second most important institution. Before the existence of French-Canadian parochial schools, parents had to send their children either to public schools or to Irish Catholic schools. Because of a language barrier and cultural differences, many French-Canadian students found it difficult to keep up with the rest of the class, not to mention the prejudice which the other children felt toward them. As a result, a number of French-Canadian children left school at an early age to help out their parents by working in the mills. Because of the absence of any legislation against child labor, and because education laws were lax it was not uncommon to see extremely young boys and girls employed as doffers, battery hands, and bobbin boys, working six days a week.[85] Pastors quickly went to work, trying to establish schools which would relieve these problems. They usually brought religious orders of nuns and brothers from Canada and France to teach in the newly-founded French parochial schools.[86]

A NEW NEIGHBORHOOD IS BORN

In addition to aiding their pastors in the construction of churches and schools, the industrious French-Canadians contributed a large portion of their meager salaries toward the establishment of orphanages, convents, old folks' homes, hospitals, and cemeteries. As this construction progressed there would soon emerge a new neighborhood in the various mill towns of New England, appropriately labeled *Le Petit Canada*.[87]

A stranger could have easily recognized this neighborhood by its very distinct inward characteristics. The church was usually the nucleus of the area, reflecting the geographical structure of Quebec's rural villages. In the immediate vicinity of the church one would find the school, the rectory, and the convent. Not too far away, there might be a grocery store, a drugstore, and perhaps a hardware store, all owned and operated by French-Canadians. These businesses, whose customers all knew one another, often served as social gathering places. There, men and women could chat about the daily occurrences in the neighborhood. Also in this area, one would find the French-Canadian club, which offered a variety of diversions. Walking a few blocks farther away from the center, one would find the residential section, with its three and four-story apartment houses, where the majority of French-Canadian factory workers lived. Parents often occupied the ground floor while their married children boarded upstairs with their families. Little children played in the yards, on the sidewalk, or in the street, always speaking French amongst themselves. *Le Petit Canada* was generally located near the textile factories, this meaning that for all practical purposes one could go to work, to school, to church, to buy provisions, and to socialize, all within walking distance of the home.[88]

Whenever the French-Canadians chose to celebrate an occasion the entire neighborhood would join in, taking on a very festive appearance. A perfect example of this could be seen every year on the 24th of June, the feast day of the French-Canadian patron saint, *La Saint-Jean-Baptiste*. The day usually began with a Mass which everyone in the parish attended, taxing the seating capacity of the church. The highlight of the celebration occurred when all the people assembled outside to form a large parade which went up and down every street in *Le Petit Canada*. At night, a banquet was usually held for the «elite» French-Canadians. [89]

THE REPATRIATION MOVEMENT

In 1873, an economic crisis occurred in the United States. Textile workers in New England's industrial centers felt the effects of this depression more than anyone else. Consequently, some French-Canadian families returned to Quebec, although the economic situation there was no better than that in the United States.[90] The Canadian government decided to take advantage of this crisis by promoting the idea of mass repatriation. Once again, politicians promised that anyone who wished to resettle in Canada could do so with the assurance that they could obtain land inexpensively. Ferdinand Gagnon, the French-Canadian journalist in Worcester, became a repatriation agent for the Canadian government, using his pen to advocate these ideas.[91] In 1874, Gagnon was one of the chief organizers of an excursion to Montreal to celebrate *La Saint-Jean-Baptiste*. The purpose of this excursion was to revive a patriotic sentiment for Quebec among the expatriates. Hundreds of French-Canadians from all over the United States, dressed in their finest attire, boarded specially designated trains destined for Montreal. After much celebration and many speeches the French-Canadians returned to their homes in the United States. They had spent a lovely holiday in their native land and they had shown the citizens of Montreal exactly how prosperous they were. Instead of stimulating a feeling of patriotism toward Canada among the expatriates, the excursion merely accelerated the emigration movement. Many citizens of Montreal, impressed by the «affluence» of their American compatriots, migrated to the United States during the next several years. The trip had backfired, much to the dismay of Gagnon and other advocates of repatriation.[92]

The repatriation movement gradually lost ground throughout the following five or six years. The majority of those who had gone back to Canada during the depression of 1873 returned to the United States as soon as the economic situation had begun to show signs of improvement. Ferdinand Gagnon realized that his efforts served no purpose, and he therefore reversed his editorial position, advocating naturalization.[93] In most states the laws which had previously barred Catholics from obtaining American citizenship had disappeared over the years. Gagnon felt that if French-Canadians were going to remain in the United States on a permanent basis they would find life much more pleasant as citizens of this nation, able to exercise their rights to the fullest extent.[94] Naturalization clubs sprouted up everywhere, aiding French-Canadians in applying for citizenship. At last, the children of Quebec would have a voice in the community and also in matters which affected their livelihood. Their primary goals would now lie in their quest for political influence.

FRENCH-CANADIANS IN AMERICAN POLITICS: A SLOW BEGINNING

The political development of the French-Canadians in New England experienced some rather stagnant beginnings, primarily due to certain attitudes which prevailed throughout the 19th century and even into the 20th century. First of all, a few French-Canadians still dreamed of the day when they would have amassed some great fortune, enabling them to return to Canada and revive their farms. Hence, the notion of becoming naturalized and developing an interest in American politics never entered their minds. Their proximity to the Canadian border, only a day away by train, gave them the opportunity to travel back and forth frequently, thus keeping in close contact with the «old country». They also lived and worked within the boundaries of *Le Petit Canada*. For these reasons, some French-Canadians found it unnecessary to learn the English language, an essential tool in the political process of this nation.

Apart from this, their many years of working on farms from sunrise to sunset, followed by more years of laboring long hours in the mills, left the French-Canadians with a minimum of leisure time to devote to reading newspapers and keeping in touch with the political scene. In addition, the French-Canadians lacked unity, a necessary factor in achieving political strength. Rather than having one strong candidate and giving him their full support, the French-Canadians often had several candidates, thus dividing the vote within the French-speaking community. This enabled candidates of other ethnic groups, who had the full backing of their compatriots, to easily win an election. Perhaps the greatest deterrent to the political development of the French-Canadians lay in the attitudes of native Americans toward Catholics and foreigners. Although the Know-Nothing movement and others like it had occurred long before this time, native Americans still looked upon these immigrants with disfavor, instilling within them a fear of coming out into the open and voicing their opinions publicly. This fear did little for the political morale of the French-Canadians.[95]

THE CHINESE OF THE EAST

A perfect example which clearly illustrates the attitudes of many Americans toward immigrants in the United States is found in the 1880 report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, which refers to the French-Canadians as the «Chinese of the East».[96] Published in 1881, this report stated that the French-Canadians cared nothing for the civil, political, and educational institutions in this country, and that they had no desire whatsoever to become citizens of the United States. They had merely settled here temporarily to fill their purses and then to return to Quebec. Furthermore, they overindulged in the use of tobacco and alcohol, and they stole jobs away from native Americans by accepting lower wages and longer hours, thus decreasing the standards of labor in New England. The only positive remark in the report stated that French-Canadians were «docile and indefatigable workers».

These statements might have contained some truth had they been published in 1840 or thereabouts. However, by 1880, it was quite apparent that French-Canadians would remain in this country permanently. This report was only one among the many attacks directed against the French-Canadians. Needless to say, these verbal assaults angered French-Canadian leaders and discouraged the average French-Canadian from trying to achieve political influence. No sound basis existed for these unwarranted accusations, and French-Canadian leaders did not allow them to go unanswered. They wished to demonstrate to the Bureau and its chief, Carroll D. Wright, that they were not as «docile» as the report had stated.

Almost immediately the French press and the French societies registered their protests against the Bureau's harsh comments. In addition, mill owners who employed French-Canadians voiced their opposition to the allegations made in the report. In due time Wright realized that he and his Bureau had misunderstood the role which the French-Canadians had carved out for themselves in the American society. He proceeded to re-examine his evaluations, resulting in his retraction of all previous negative statements about French-Canadians. The Bureau's 1882 report contained a lengthy account of the many positive contributions which the French-Canadians had made to the United States over the years. In 1889, Carroll D. Wright became head of the Federal Bureau of Statistics in Washington, D.C. and he again published a report in which he praised the French-Canadians. Still later, in 1907, at which time he held the position of President of Clark University in Worcester, Wright sent a letter to Alexandre Bélisle, one of the Bélisle Brothers, publishers of the French-language newspaper *L'Opinion Publique*. In this letter, Wright told Bélisle that in his studies he had found no other nationality which had developed more rapidly or in a more satisfactory manner than the French-Canadians.[97]

FIRST POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE FRENCH-CANADIANS

During the 1880's, the political efforts of the French-Canadians remained on the local level. Testing their political wings in the community, they chose to run for offices such as that of alderman, city councilman, selectman, or school board representative. For a variety of reasons, the majority of French-Canadian voters tended to lean toward the Republican Party. First of all, this party happened to be in power during the naturalization campaigns. Secondly, French-Canadian leaders (i.e. professionals, businessmen, clergymen, etc.) belonged to the Republican Party, and therefore the masses followed suit. Finally, the Democratic Party was dominated by the Irish, long-time foes of the French-Canadians.[98] In some areas, a French-Canadian who ran for political office where his compatriots made up a considerable portion of the electorate usually had little difficulty getting elected. Upon seeing the name of one of their own on the ballot, French-Canadian voters would merely place an «X» in the appropriate box, regardless of the person's political leanings.[99] Fortunately, this voting pattern did not transcend the municipal level, nor did it last very long. As French-Canadians became better educated, they became much more sophisticated in their choice of candidates, basing their selection on the candidate's qualifications rather than his nationality.

At this time, certain French-Canadian journalists became involved in the American political scene. One example was Benjamin Lenthier who, during the year 1892, owned no less than sixteen French-language newspapers in various French-Canadian centers. As previously stated, most French-Canadians at this date belonged to the Republican Party. By contrast, Lenthier used his newspapers to run a vigorous campaign in favor of the Democratic presidential candidate, Grover Cleveland. After Cleveland won the election the majority of Lenthier's newspapers went out of existence, since most were founded merely for that one campaign.[100]

In a relatively short period of time, French-Canadian candidates aimed their political aspirations a bit higher. During the late 1880's and early 1890's, the New Hampshire State Legislature counted as many as ten French-Canadians within its ranks. One of them was Henri T. Ledoux of Nashua, who later became president of one of the largest French societies in North America, ***L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique***. The Massachusetts State Legislature had Hugo A. Dubuque as one of its members. He was the grandnephew of the explorer and founder of Dubuque, Iowa, Julien Dubuque. He was also the son of the 1837 *patriote* Moïse Dubuque. The most impressive French-Canadian achievement of the 1890's occurred in Rhode Island when Aram J. Pothier became Mayor of Woonsocket in 1894 and Lieutenant-Governor of that state in 1897.[101]

THE BEGINNING OF UPWARD MOBILITY

In addition to their political accomplishments, the French-Canadians underwent various other changes during the last ten years of the 19th century which affected their basic social metabolism as an ethnic group. Canada's economic status had somewhat improved over the past few years, with industry gradually climbing the scale of importance. In addition to this, the building of the Canadian Pacific Railroad caused many French-Canadian laborers to work and later settle permanently in the prairie provinces.[102] As a result of this, French-Canadian emigration to the United States reached its peak by the 1890's. The growth of the French-speaking population in New England would now depend chiefly on reproduction rather than upon continued emigration from Canada. This brought up the question of whether the next few generations would have the strength and interest to maintain the language and customs of their ancestors.

Another change which occurred at this time also dealt with emigration, that of new ethnic groups, from Europe. The economic situation in Russia, Poland, the Ukraine, Austria, Greece, Italy, Portugal, and other European countries resembled that of Quebec during the great migration to the United States.

Farmers and peasants from these areas began arriving in this country during the last decade of the 19th century, trying to escape the poverty of their homelands. In the domain of labor, they followed the same patterns as the French-Canadians, the Irish, and the Germans, that being to accept whatever jobs available, regardless of the wages and hours. Consequently, the French-Canadians rose in social and economic status, since there now were new groups of immigrants who could perform the menial tasks. More and more French names appeared on the textile industry's payroll under the column for overseers and foremen, rather than as mere weavers and spinners. Store owners who had previously not dared set up shop outside *Le Petit Canada* now proudly moved to Main Street, where their clientele reflected all nationalities.[103]

SOCIETIES ON THE RISE

French-Canadian societies began to gain more prominence at this time, even within larger, non-French organizations. An example of this was the *Garde Lafayette*, a company in the New Hampshire National Guard's First Regiment, founded in 1887 and made up exclusively of French-Canadians and modeled somewhat after the Sheridan Guard, an Irish company. In 1891, a monument was erected to commemorate the victory of the American forces commanded by General John Stark of Manchester over the British and Hessian soldiers under the command of General Burgoyne at the Battle of Bennington, Vermont in 1777. The *Garde Lafayette* won the honor and privilege of attending the dedication ceremonies at Bennington as representatives of the First Regiment. This Company did not merely act as a military organization, for it possessed the qualities of a social group, whose members held a spirit of friendship and respect for one another.[104]

Until this time, French-Canadian societies had remained small and local, thus rather weak, powerless, and without influence due to a lack of unity. Every few years, French-Canadians held conventions in various cities, where delegates from local societies would gather to discuss the different goals and problems which the French-Canadians faced. There hardly ever occurred a convention during which the delegates did not discuss the possibility of merging a number of small societies to form one large and powerful organization. They had attempted to consolidate several times before, one example being the founding of *L'Union Canadienne de Secours Mutuel* in 1869. However, members usually lost interest and nothing ever lasted permanently. At the *Convention des Canadiens-Français du New Hampshire* held in Manchester in 1890, the delegates decided that the time had finally arrived to stop discussing and to start organizing. By the end of November 1896, they had completed all negotiations, thus giving birth to their long-awaited dream, *L'Association Canado-Américaine*, a fraternal insurance company and French-Canadian society rolled into one.[105] It was founded as a working man's society, as evidenced by the fact that its first president, Théophile G. Biron, held the position of Overseer of Weaving in the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company. Four years later, the French-Canadians of Woonsocket, Rhode Island followed suit by founding *L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique*. Its first president was Edouard Cadieux.[106]

Throughout the subsequent decades, these two organizations developed into large and important insurance companies while still remaining on a fraternal basis. Even today, apart from their business and social aspects, both societies possess a cultural image in the form of French libraries. *L'Association Canado-Américaine* owns *L'Institut Canado-Américain*, a collection of French books, newspapers, periodicals, photographs, manuscripts, and art objects, founded by Adélard Lambert, a noted French-Canadian bibliophile. *L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste* owns a similar library which goes by the name of *Bibliothèque Mallet*, begun with the private collection of Major Edmond Mallet, the Civil War soldier. These societies, along with other smaller ones, work together to help promote and preserve French life in North America. Another society, founded in 1899 and still very active today, is the *Société Historique Franco-Américaine*. This organization encourages the study of the history of the *fait français* in America.

A NEW IDENTITY AND CONTINUED PROGRESS

By the turn of the century, the French-Canadians had lived in New England approximately sixty years, since the first migration after the Insurrection of 1837-1838. Many had learned to speak English, others had become American citizens, and some had even been born in the United States, having lived their entire lives in this land. They had firmly established their families and their institutions in New England. They owed their allegiance to one country, the United States of America, while still retaining the love, the language, the religion, and the traditions of their mother country. They were truly bilingual and bicultural. From about the year 1900 and on, the French-Canadians became known as the Franco-Americans.

During the early years of the 20th century, prior to the Great War, the Franco-Americans continued to progress socially, economically, and politically. Some left their jobs in the textile factories in order to obtain more profitable employment. As Franco-Americans became more prosperous, they purchased homes, and many more went into business for themselves. In 1904, *Le Collège de l'Assomption* was founded in Worcester, Massachusetts.[107] This institution, directed by the Assumptionist Fathers, closely resembled the *séminaire* or *collège* in the Province of Quebec. The only real difference was that it taught English as well as French. The main goal of the school was to educate young Franco-American men who aspired to one profession or another. Conveniently located in the heart of New England, *l'Assomption* enabled students to receive a classical course of education without having to travel to Montreal or elsewhere in Canada.

Over the past thirty to forty years, the Franco-American population in the various industrial centers of New England had steadily increased. Naturally, parishes could not function properly when they became overcrowded. Thus, the original parishes were forced to subdivide into smaller ones. When these became too populous, new parishes began to emerge. By the first decade of the 20th century, many New England cities had as many as four, five, or six Franco-American parishes. Often

Franco-Americans had difficulties in obtaining new parishes, since Irish bishops still considered national parishes as detrimental to the strength of the Catholic Church in the United States. They frequently named Irish priests to serve in the Franco-American parishes, or tried to limit the use of the French language in the schools, thus creating conflicts within the parish.

If one keeps this in mind, it is no wonder that the Franco-Americans of New Hampshire were delighted when they achieved the «impossible» in 1907: Reverend Georges-Albert Guertin, a native of Nashua, became the third bishop of the Diocese of Manchester. Although the Catholic Church in the United States had elevated French priests to the episcopate in the past, Bishop Guertin was the first native-born Franco-American to attain this position.[108] The Franco-Americans continued to gain political influence in New England, especially in Rhode Island, where Aram J. Pothier became governor in 1908. In that same year, the Franco-Americans achieved a «first» in the field of finance. Alphonse Desjardins, a French-Canadian banker, had devised a concept known as a *caisse populaire*, the first of which he founded at Lévis, P.Q. in 1900. This institution was a sort of combination people's bank and credit union. The success of the first *caisse populaire* led to the founding of others. Consequently, Msgr. Pierre Hévey, pastor of Ste-Marie's parish in Manchester, upon hearing of the enormous success of Desjardins' venture, invited him to Manchester to found the first such bank in the United States, *La Caisse Populaire Ste-Marie*. It assumed the image of a «working man's bank», catering primarily to the financial protection of the average Franco-American. Soon, every major city which had a French-speaking population possessed its own *caisse populaire*.[109] Franco-Americans had become such an integral part of American life that some looked upon them as always having lived in this country. One example of this was a statement pronounced by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts at a reunion of the Boston City Club in 1908:

> « . . . they (Franco-Americans) are hardly to be classified as immigrants in the accepted sense. They represent one of the oldest settlements of this continent. They have been in the broad sense, Americans for generations, and their coming to the United States is merely a movement of Americans across an imaginary line from one part of America to another.»[110]

By 1910, French-language newspapers had made significant progress. Apart from the numerous weekly and monthly journals, there were also seven daily French newspapers in New England:

- *L'Indépendant*, Fall River, Mass., founded by Antoine Houde, first appeared as a weekly on March 27, 1885; became a daily on October 13, 1893.
- *L'Étoile*, Lowell, Mass., founded by *Le Cercle Canadien*, a French-Canadian association, first appeared as a weekly on March 21, 1886, became a daily on March 20, 1893.
- *L'Opinion Publique*, Worcester, Mass., founded by the Bélisle Brothers,

first appeared as a bi-weekly on Jan. 27, 1893, became a weekly on April 27, 1898.

- *L'Avenir National*, Manchester, N.H., founded by Joseph E. Bernier, first appeared three times per week in 1894, became a daily in January, 1901.
- *La Tribune*, Woonsocket, R.I., founded by Adélard E. Lafond, first appeared as a daily on April 7, 1895. It was the first French-language newspaper in New England to be founded as a daily.
- *L'Écho*, New Bedford, Mass., founded by J.B. Archambault, first appeared «every other day» in 1901, became a daily in 1910.
- *Le Journal*, New Bedford, Mass., founded by *L'Indépendant* of Fall River as a separate edition of the latter, first appeared as a daily in 1910.[111]

In 1911, the Franco-Americans added one more accomplishment to their already impressive record. That was the appointment of Hugo A. Dubuque as Justice of the Superior Court in Massachusetts. With more churches, schools, societies, newspapers, politicians, doctors, lawyers, businessmen, home owners, *caisses populaires*, hospitals, orphanages, etc., the Franco-Americans of New England continued to gain prestige in the community, influencing their environment and adopting new patterns of living while still remaining loyal to their Franco-American heritage. The decade prior to the start of World War I perhaps marked the peak of the bicultural state of being of the Franco-Americans, presenting the most favorable surroundings and conditions for the survival of their language and customs.

LABOR DIFFICULTIES

The cotton textile industry in New England began to experience some rather unpleasant difficulties as a result of Southern competition.[112] In the South, workers could pick the crop, process and refine it, and produce finished cloth all in the same location. This eliminated shipping costs to have the raw fiber processed in Northern mills. In addition to this, Southern laborers worked for less money than their New England counterparts, the cost of living and the taxes were lower in the South, labor laws were less stringent, and unionism was not strong. As a result, Southern mills could sell their product at reduced rates. In order for Northern factories to compete with their rivals, they often found it necessary to increase their work week as well as to reduce wages. This inevitably prompted the workers in New England mills to strike from time to time. One example of this was the bitter strike which occurred in Lawrence, Massachusetts in 1912.[113]

Franco-Americans, who often comprised a high percentage of the work force in certain areas, were frequently forced to travel from city to city in search of employment, financial aid, and moral support. Some, though not many, returned to Canada hoping to find work. Although millworkers might not have realized it at this time, these labor troubles represented a mild foretaste of what the future held for the cotton textile industry in New England.

WORLD WAR I

The declaration of World War I temporarily placed the factories into a state of vigorous production, creating more jobs for immigrants, boosting the economy, and postponing the downfall of the livelihood of many Franco-Americans. The war in Europe demanded the services of every able-bodied soldier, regardless of age or ethnic origin. As always, the Franco-Americans actively participated in this war effort. Patriotism toward the United States ran highly among citizens at home, especially those who knew someone fighting abroad. Franco-Americans, as well as others, placed small American flags or small stars in their windows, representing the number of family members in a particular household who were away at war. Some took pride in boasting that their family, their parish, or their society had more men and women in the Armed Forces in Europe than any other group in town.

The *Garde Lafayette* saw plenty of action during World War I, losing some of its ablest members. Included was Lieutenant William H. Jutras, who died near Riaville, France while attempting to save his platoon from certain death.[114] Today, the memory of Lieutenant Jutras lives on in his home town, Manchester, New Hampshire, where the American Legion Post No. 43 bears his name as *Poste Jutras.* Franco-American soldiers found that their knowledge of the French language became quite useful while fighting in France.

ONE FLAG, ONE LANGUAGE

The victory of the Allies in Europe in 1918 brought peace and relief in homes throughout the country. Many soldiers returned home, many did not. To the nation's ethnic groups, the end of the war brought with it an unforeseen phenomenon reflecting shades of the Native American Movement of the early 19th century. The war with Germany had consequently caused an anti-German sentiment to spread across the nation. The strong patriotic feelings expressed by citizens during the war now began to manifest themselves in the form of «one flag, one language».[115] Soon, anti-German propaganda evolved into anti-ethnic doctrine. Anyone who identified himself or herself as Franco-American, Polish-American, or any other «hyphenated-American» was considered to be «un-American». Politicians pointed their fingers at many World War I veterans, saying that they possessed an inadequate knowledge of the English language. Educators accused Catholic parochial schools, excepting Irish schools, of failing to make the English language an integral part of their curriculum, thus producing a generation of citizens who were fluent in their mother tongue, but desperately lacking proficiency in their use of the English language.

To the Franco-Americans, this merely represented another in a series of battles to preserve their cultural identity. As a group, they still had the power to withstand any opposing forces, as their ancestors had so frequently done. Among certain individuals, however, this movement instilled fear or shame, causing them to Americanize their names and marry outside their own ethnic group.[116] Jean-Baptiste Arsenault simply became Jack Snow, or Joseph Leblanc changed his name to Joe White.[117] Naturally, those who denied their ethnic identity raised their children only as Americans, with no knowledge of the language and customs of their ancestors. These notions had occurred long before the 1920's. However, they did not exist on as large a scale. This was the case in Vermont, where the Franco-Americans had become assimilated by the turn of the century.[118] Politicians tried to introduce bills which would have banned the teaching of all languages other than English in the parochial schools. For the most part, these politicians lost their battle, especially in cases concerning the French language. Franco-American schools adhered to the laws which stated that they must follow the same curriculum as the public schools with regard to English, American History, etc., allowing them the freedom to teach French during the remaining portions of the school day.[119]

RHODE ISLAND CONTROVERSY

The assimilation or Americanization movement following World War I revived some of the bitterness between Franco-Americans and the Irish over the question of teaching French in predominantly Franco-American schools. Many disputes had arisen during the 19th century. Yet, none ever attained the notoriety of *L'Affaire de la Sentinelle* in Rhode Island.[120] This lasted from 1923 to about 1929. A detailed account of this controversy would require an entire book. Therefore, a general summary of events will have to suffice. His Excellency The Most Reverend William A. Hickey, Bishop of Providence, decided that the state needed diocesan schools on the secondary level, much like *L'Assomption* in Worcester. In order to pay for the construction of these schools, he would find it necessary to tax every parish in his diocese. Certain Franco-Americans in the diocese learned that the schools might possibly limit the teaching of French, although the majority of students attending them would come from Franco-American families. Led by Attorney Elphège Daignault, a resident of Woonsocket and also President-General of *L'Association Canado-Américaine* in Manchester, New Hampshire, these Franco-Americans decided to challenge Bishop Hickey's right to tax their purses while depriving their children of their right to study French in school. They accused Bishop Hickey of trying to assimilate the Franco-Americans.

Subsequently, they founded a newspaper entitled *La Sentinelle* in which they voiced their opposition toward the bishop's proposals. The *Sentinellistes* believed in the Canadian system of parish taxation, wherein the pastor and an appointed parish council have control of funds, rather than the bishop. Conditions became so heated that another group of Franco-Americans led by Elie Vézina, the Secretary-General of *L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique*, voiced their opposition to the Daignault forces in the Woonsocket French-language newspaper *La Tribune*. After several years of battling and name-calling back and forth, *La Sentinelle* was placed on the Catholic Church's «Index» and the *Sentinellistes* were excommunicated by the religious courts in Rome. The civil courts in Rhode Island also ruled against them, saying that the bishop had every right to tax the parishioners, and that the latter had no say in the manner in which the diocese used these funds. Not wishing to remain outside the Catholic Church, the *Sentinellistes* were forced to retract all previous statements regarding the bishop's authority. Subsequently, the Church pardoned and readmitted them.

Without taking sides in this conflict, several objective observations are warranted. Negatively speaking, the *Sentinelle* controversy demonstrated to the world that given the right issue, the otherwise homogeneous and united Franco-Americans could in fact be divided, plotted brother against brother, friend against friend. Another situation such as this could ultimately destroy all bonds among Franco-Americans, leaving them vulnerable to forces which would succeed in assimilating them. Positively speaking, *L'Affaire de la Sentinelle* was a manifestation of the love which certain Franco-Americans had for their language and their willingness to preserve it, regardless of the consequences. The strength and unity of the *Sentinellistes* went so far as to influence Irish bishops in later years to see the value in knowing a second language. Some of the bishops who had once put down the *Sentinellistes* later advocated the conservation of the French language. Their main opposition to the movement, according to many, lay not in any hatred for the Franco-Americans, but rather in the tactics employed by the *Sentinellistes*. In any case, if *L'Affaire de la Sentinelle* possessed some rather negative aspects, there is no denying that it produced some rather positive results.[121]

LABOR DIFFICULTIES RETURN

Another battle with which the Franco-Americans and other primarily labor-oriented ethnic groups had to contend was the economic crisis which occurred during the 1920's. In New England, the textile industry faced its perpetual struggle to remain alive and prosperous. Everywhere, mill owners began their usual tactics of increasing work hours, decreasing salaries, and cutting their work force. The situation had become much more serious than that prior to World War I. When a corporation the size of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company, the largest cotton textile manufacturing company in the world, watched its 17,000 operatives go on strike for nine months in 1922, the economic outlook was not very optimistic.[122]

Franco-Americans, more politically aware than ever, slowly began to drift away from the Republican Party. This party was viewed as a wealthy man's party and it possessed some rather «Know-Nothing» attitudes. Observing that the Democratic Party seemed more concerned with the economic situation and with the plight of the working class, Franco-Americans ignored the fact that their rivals, the Irish, had dominated this party for many years. Soon, more and more Franco-American names appeared in between the Irish names on the Democratic Party's voting lists. In 1928, the majority of Franco-Americans stood firmly behind the Democratic Presidential candidate, Governor Al Smith of New York. They disregarded his ethnic background and judged him by his qualifications and his viewpoints. Although Al Smith lost the election to Herbert Hoover, the Franco-Americans had solidly planted themselves within the ranks of the Democratic Party.[123]

THE GREAT DEPRESSION:
ITS EFFECTS ON
THE FRANCO-AMERICANS

By autumn of 1929, the economic crisis had turned into a full-scale depression, following the infamous Stock Market Crash. The Great Depression merely created more difficulties in the already troubled New England textile industry, but in this case mill operatives could not escape these difficulties by seeking employment elsewhere. The Depression had affected all walks of life. People lacked money, jobs, and worst of all, they had nowhere to turn. As always, a few Franco-Americans «escaped» to Canada nonetheless, the great majority remained in this country. Many alleviated their financial burdens by moving in with relatives. They shared expenses such as rent, food, and utilities. In some families as many as fifteen to twenty persons of every age and generation were forced to crowd into three and four-room apartments. To those in their seventies and eighties, this type of living arrangement echoed the days of their arrival and establishment in the New England textile centers following the Civil War. Perhaps the only positive aspect of the Depression was that it brought families closer together, enabling younger children to hear French spoken more frequently, since their grandparents naturally favored it over the English language. To those parents who concerned themselves primarily with the well-being of their families, perhaps all on relief and at the mercy of a government which advocated «one flag and one language», the idea of Franco-American cultural survival probably ranked last on their list of priorities.[124]

RETURN TO PROSPERITY AND GRADUAL AMERICANIZATION

With the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democratic Presidential candidate whom the majority of Franco-Americans backed during the campaign of 1932, the nation slowly began to recover from its economic illness. Those who had suffered since the Crash could now perceive a bright future for themselves and their families. President Roosevelt's numerous programs created employment for everyone. As a result, Americans developed the drive to get ahead, both materially and socially. This upward mobility caused Franco-Americans, as well as other ethnic groups, to look back on the days when they first arrived in the United States. Upon arrival they had to struggle in poverty and they worked long hours for little pay. They were scoffed at by native Americans because of language and cultural differences, and were forced to hide their ethnicity in order to receive equal treatment in the community.

Now, Franco-Americans began to regard their ethnic background as detrimental to their prosperity. They felt that by shedding their «foreign» traits and by attempting to appear as «American» as possible, they would find greater acceptance in society. Consciously or unconsciously, Franco-Americans slowly abandoned certain customs which they had observed for many years.[125] Children spoke French only at school or in the presence of their grandparents. Adults still used the French language. They spoke it less frequently, however. Many tended to incorporate English words into a French sentence, soon causing the Franco-American language to evolve into what linguists call *le Franglais.*[126] To many young Franco-Americans who were born in the United States, Canada was merely a foreign country. It was where their ancestors had come from, and also where they occasionally visited relatives, but neither would one want to live there nor could one identify with any part of that culture. New England was their only home.[127]

The Franco-American institutions, the «guardians» of the French way of life in New England, began to reflect some of the changes which had occurred during these years of prosperity. Franco-American churches found that a good portion of their members who preferred to hear sermons in English had transferred to Irish Catholic parishes.[128] Teachers in the French parochial schools observed that children were progressively losing their ability to communicate in the French language. Parents often sent their children to Irish Catholic or public schools in order to avoid any difficulties with the French language. Journalists stood by in utter dismay as one French newspaper after another ceased publication due to a lack of subscriptions. Franco-Americans, especially the younger generation, could read English language newspapers more easily. Consequently, many cancelled their subscriptions to the local Franco-American journals.[129] Several strong-willed Franco-American journalists continued to publish their newspapers at a deficit for many more years. The Franco-American reader, however, had no interest in them. The only institution that did not immediately surrender to this wave of assimilation was the Franco-American society. Remaining loyal to their original purpose of preserving and promoting the French language, Franco-American societies resisted the forces which surrounded them. Those who belonged to a society did so voluntarily, out of concern for the future of French life in New England. Certain cultural traditions were upheld, such as conducting meetings and conventions in French. In addition, all of their announcements, newsletters, and publications remained in French.

Infatuated by their newly-found prosperity, some Franco-Americans viewed *Le Petit Canada*, with its streets of closely lined rows of three and four-decker houses, as a reminder of their poor economic and social status in past years. They no longer wished to live among the memories of hard work in the mills and overcrowded living conditions. To them, the way of life in *Le Petit Canada* had become «passé». They looked upon the old neighborhood in the same manner as their ancestors had perceived their abandoned farms in Quebec. A few of the more prosperous Franco-Americans had left *Le Petit Canada* as early as the 1880's. Now, in the 1930's many more Franco-Americans hopped on to the bandwagon which brought them into suburbia. There they would constitute but one among the numerous nationalities, where English would dominate all other tongues, and where they would gradually drift away from and lose touch with Franco-American cultural influences which had once surrounded them.[130]

CONCERNED FRANCO-AMERICANS AND FRENCH-CANADIANS UNITE

In 1937, *Le Deuxième Congrès de la Langue Française* took place in Quebec City. Many prominent New England Franco-American leaders participated in this event. Included were:

- Reverend Adrien Verrette, noted clergyman and historian.
- Adolphe Robert, author, journalist, and President-General of *L'Association Canado-Américaine*.
- Wilfrid Beaulieu, journalist, publisher of *Le Travailleur*.

- Henri Ledoux, President-General of *L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique.*
- Attorney Eugene Jalbert, legal counsel of *L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique.*
- Josephat T. Benoit, author, journalist.

At this convention, French-Canadians and Franco-Americans met to discuss the future of their language, their mother tongue, hoping to find a solution to the current dilemma which the Franco-Americans of New England faced. The ultimate result of this convention was the founding of *Le Comité Permanent des Congrès de la Langue Française en Amérique*, subsequently changed to *Le Comité Permanent de la Survivance Française en Amérique*, and still in existence today under the name of *Le Conseil de la Vie Française en Amérique*. The primary goal of this organization is to preserve the French heritage in North America.[131]

WORLD WAR II

When World War II broke out, all eyes focused on Europe and Asia. When the United States entered the conflict in 1941, Franco-Americans once again went into battle along with hundreds of thousands of other Americans. At home in the United States the job market was favorable, as it usually becomes during a time of war. The cotton textile industry had all but completely died in New England, with only a few remaining factories here and there. Synthetics such as rayon had replaced cotton, and the mills now required fewer operatives due to an increase in mechanization. As a result, Franco-Americans who had previously supplied the labor force of the texile industry now worked in various other fields. The average Franco-Americans still belonged to the working class, yet in a more diversified manner.

Patriotism remained strong during World War II as it had during the previous war. As always, the war produced many heroes, Franco-Americans included. Lieutenant Raymond Beaudoin of Holyoke was killed in Germany one month before the fighting had ceased. He earned the Congressional Medal of Honor. Many won Purple Hearts, Silver Stars, Bronze Stars, and other awards for bravery in combat. Franco-American women, no less patriotic, served in the WACS, WAVES, and also as nurses. Perhaps the most famous event in which a Franco-American participated occurred in February of 1945, when Pfc. René Gagnon of Manchester, New Hampshire, and five of his Marine companions raised the American flag atop Mt. Suribachi on the island of Iwo Jima in the Pacific.[132]

REVIVAL OF INTEREST IN FRENCH CULTURE

World War II shed new light upon the importance of knowing a foreign language for both travel and diplomatic purposes. The sentiments which prevailed at this time directly contradicted those which followed World War I.[133] The American government looked favorably toward its ally, France. Therefore, in a complete about-face from its previous position, the American government advocated the teaching of French in parochial and even in public schools. Consequently, French Catholic schools experienced a sharp increase in their enrollment after the war and through the early 1950's. It was not uncommon to see soldiers, stationed on military bases with their families, sending their children to nearby French parochial schools, hoping to provide them with the opportunity to learn a second language. Many of these students did not come from Franco-American families, which signified that the «average» American had finally come to realize the value of preserving one's ethnic heritage rather than being ashamed of it or demeaning those who wished to preserve theirs.[134]

The United States further cemented its relationship with France and her people by sending a train filled with food and clothing to aid the victims of that war-torn nation. In recognition for this generous deed, the French government reciprocated by sending a train to the United States. This gift to the American people, entitled ***Train de la Reconnaissance Française***, consisted of 49 separate cars, one destined for each state, as well as the District of Columbia. It contained numerous articles, including art treasures, porcelain vases, medals of various sorts, bells from Caen, dolls, and many other items.[135]

Potentially, the attitudes during the post-war years presented a quite favorable milieu with regard to the survival of the French language. At the time, there still existed enough Franco-American churches, schools, societies, and even a few newspapers, to enable Franco-Americans to regain what they had lost. The majority of the people had not forgotten the French language and traditions. They had merely brushed them aside and ignored them. Help was everywhere. Many schools still carried a half-day of French in their curriculum, offering Franco-American children the chance to learn or to improve upon their French. Societies still clung to their custom of deliberating in French at their meetings. In most cities, radio stations carried an ***heure française***, consisting of both speech and songs in the French language.[136] The French-Canadians and the Franco-Americans once again met in Quebec City for ***Le Troisième Congrès de la Langue Française*** in 1952.[137] This time, the convention was presided by a Franco-American, Reverend Adrien Verrette. In short, everyone, including many non-Franco-Americans, devoted a great deal of time and effort toward the ***survivance*** of the French language. This placed an opportunity for cultural revival within reach of the average Franco-American. The fate of the French language in New England was now in the hands of the everyday person.

ETHNIC SUICIDE

Unfortunately, although the resources were there, Franco-Americans, like most other Americans, did not take advantage of them. The incomprehensible fact of the matter was that in past years, when the native Americans and the Irish had attempted to assimilate the Franco-Americans, the latter united to form an invincible defense against these forces, guarding their cultural identity which they held sacred. Yet, when the government, the Catholic Church hierarchy, and other assimilative bodies finally admitted the worth and cultural wealth of speaking more than one language, the previously unassimilable Franco-Americans simply pointed their weapons in the opposite direction and committed ethnic suicide through passive self-assimilation.[138]

This phenomenon has occurred within most ethnic groups in the United States, and probably at a much faster rate than among the Franco-Americans. The fact that the Franco-Americans settled within a few hundred miles of their «old country» has aided in slowing down their assimilation. European immigrants, on the other hand, settled at least 3,000 miles away from their mother country. Consequently, they quickly adopted the language and customs of this country. Only in large cities such as New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, where there are still enough immigrants to constitute the various ethnic neighborhoods, does the European culture remain alive.

REFORMS IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

In 1960, the Franco-Americans saw one of their compatriots ascend to the episcopate in New Hampshire. To many, this came as a pleasant surprise because no Franco-American priest had achieved this rank since the death of Bishop Guertin in 1931. This priest was The Most Reverend Ernest J. Primeau, a native of Chicago.[139] Apart from his regular duties, Bishop Primeau took an active part in the Vatican Ecumenical Council, which created various reforms in the Catholic Church. One of these reforms was to abolish Latin as the official language of the Church, and to replace it with the vernacular. Most Franco-American parishes naturally recognized the French language as their vernacular, but in order to prevent their parishioners from joining an English-speaking parish, Franco-American pastors found it necessary to incorporate one or two English Masses into their schedule.[140]

CHANGES IN FRENCH LANGUAGE TEACHING METHODS

The problem of teaching French in the Franco-American schools became more and more acute, since children not only lacked the ability to speak French, but many also refused to even attempt to learn it. In order to keep their enrollment up, Franco-American schools had to bend with the tide. Most schools had to change their curriculum from a half-day of French to 45 minutes per day of French «taught as a second language.» This became the only solution to the problem of children arriving in the first grade without ever having heard one word of French.

During the summer of 1961 and 1962 Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine hosted a seven-week program entitled *L'Institut Franco-Américain*. Funded by virtue of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 and directed by Dr. Gérard Brault of the University of Pennsylvania, this program was designed to improve the methods of teaching French in public and parochial high schools.[141] In 1965, various professional people, clergymen, and educators met at *Le VIIIe Congrès des Franco-Américains* to try to resolve the crisis of teaching French in the Franco-American parochial schools.[142] It was evident that the current methodology had not been effective in making the students identify with the language of their ancestors. During the above programs numerous suggestions were made with regard to the modernization of the methods of teaching French. A few of these suggestions were:

- The gradual and delicate evolution from Franco-American French to modern or «standard» French.

- The standardization of teaching methods, in other words, Franco-American schools would utilize the same program of study as that of schools in Canada, France, Belgium, Switzerland, etc.
- Oral exercises in a language laboratory, designed to perfect pronunciation.
- The incorporation of the history and folklore of the French-speaking world to make classes more interesting to Franco-American children than mere drill sessions in ***grammaire*** and ***épellation***.

By employing these and other advanced methods of instruction, educators hoped to produce a breed of perfectly bilingual students whose French would be of an impeccable quality.[143] Unfortunately, due to a shortage of nuns, brothers, and capable lay teachers, many Franco-American schools were forced to close their doors before ever having the opportunity to try out these new language programs. In some cases, pastors who did not wish to see their schools close down pleaded with diocesan officials to come to their aid. This resulted in the merger of local parochial schools of various nationalities into regional diocesan schools with no particular ethnic identification.[144] Catholic schools in general were experiencing financial difficulties at this time, primarily because they received no government subsidies, thus having to charge tuition. Parents with many children, who could not always afford these high costs, sent their offspring to public schools.

FRANCO-AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS AND SOCIETIES

As Franco-American life continued to dwindle during the 1960's, so did the number of Franco-American newspapers. These journals, for the most part, ran out of funds and consequently ceased their operations. They could not follow the same trend as the other Franco-American institutions. They could not incorporate the English language into their articles and still call themselves French-language newspapers. Even the societies finally began to experience difficulties. Most still maintained the tradition of utilizing the French-language, but new members of the younger generation seemed few and far between.[145] Many of the clubs merely served as places to drink, to play cards, or to shoot a game of billiards. Larger societies, such as ***L'Association Canado-Américaine*** and ***L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique***, continued to use the French language in their internal affairs, but found it necessary to become bilingual when dealing with the public. This was the only way in which they could attract young members, who possessed little or no knowledge of the French language.

TRAGEDY IN VIET NAM

As Franco-American leaders continued their fight for the survival of French life in the United States, many young soldiers, including Franco-Americans, continued their fight for mere survival in Viet Nam. In the end, over 50,000 Americans had given their lives for this controversial cause. For the Franco-Americans, the single most tragic event occurred during the last week of August in 1969. The Third Battalion of the 197th Artillery in the New Hampshire National Guard was due to return home after a one-year tour of duty in Viet Nam. One week before their scheduled homecoming, S. Sgt. Richard Raymond, Spec. 5 Richard Genest, and Spec. 4 Roger Robichaud, Gaetan Beaudoin, and Guy Blanchette, all Franco-Americans from Manchester, died when the truck in which they rode went over a forty-pound land mine several miles outside of Saigon.[146]

THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

Today, the future of the Franco-Americans seems uncertain. With each year, the balance of English and French Masses in the Franco-American churches seems to shift in favor of English. One ray of hope lies in the fact that three dioceses in New England have a Franco-American bishop. These are: The Most Reverend Louis E. Gélineau, Bishop of Providence, The Most Reverend Odore J. Gendron, Bishop of Manchester, and the most recent appointment, The Most Reverend Amédée W. Proulx, Auxiliary Bishop of Portland.[147] With the aid of these three men, parishes may be able to retain their ethnicity a while longer.

Educators are still working diligently to try to find a solution to the problem of teaching French in schools. In several states, they have met with legislators, hoping to initiate their bilingual educational programs in the public schools.[148] The state of Louisiana has done this successfully and some New England states wish to follow suit.[149] In the field of journalism, the only remaining major French-language newspaper is Wilfrid Beaulieu's *Le Travailleur*. Mr. Beaulieu founded his newspaper in Worcester in 1931 and as a staunch supporter and patriot of the French cause, he continues to publish his journal despite the decline of the Franco-American press in New England. Because of its primarily political and literary nature, *Le Travailleur* appeals mostly to intellectuals. Consequently, it has great difficulty finding its way into the «average» Franco-American home.

There are still many strong Franco-American societies in existence, but as older members and officers gradually die off they are replaced by younger people who do not necessarily identify with the original goals of the societies. Thus, many of these societies may soon evolve into mere businesses, void of ethnic identity, unless people suddenly become more concerned with their fate. One society which has managed to maintain an impressive membership while persisting in its battle against assimilation is *Le Richelieu International*. This organization, which originated in Ottawa in 1944, has local chapters in Canada, New England, France, Belgium, Switzerland, and North Africa. Besides trying to preserve French life and culture, *Le Richelieu International* actively participates in community projects which are beneficial to society in general.[150]

In many cities, *Le Petit Canada* is barely visible today. After the majority of its former residents had moved out to the suburbs, the old French-Canadian neighborhood began to deteriorate and dissolve.[151] The streets in which the early French-Canadians had so proudly marched every year during *La Saint-Jean-Baptiste* have become silent. They are lined with run-down, weather-beaten, and vacant homes which the old emigrants had once thought of as their castles. The homes which many of the first French-Canadians worked long and hard to build and pay for have now simply fallen into disrepair. In some areas, *Le Petit Canada* has been literally crushed and eaten up by the bulldozers and the cranes of urban renewal in the name of «progress».

As for the Franco-Americans, they are now simply Americans. Except for a minority of strong supporters of the French language and traditions in the United States, most Franco-Americans look, speak, act, think in the same manner as everyone else. They no longer fight with the Irish, and the Yankee society has admitted them within its circles. Unfortunately, in order to achieve this status, the Franco-Americans were forced to shed their most precious possession, their identity.

CONCLUSION

A question may arise: «Who is responsible for all of these losses?» The 19th century French-Canadians believed that so long as they maintained their churches, schools, newspapers, and societies, their ethnic survival was assured. They firmly believed that these institutions were the foundations of French life in the United States. The events of the 20th century have served as evidence that they were mistaken. When the French-Canadians first established themselves in the United States, their institutions took on a purely French-Canadian image. In later years when their descendants, the Franco-Americans, slowly began to abandon their mother tongue, their institutions had two choices. They could either conform to this evolution in order to remain solvent, or else they could try to resist the tide of assimilation and eventually perish. In other words, Franco-American institutions were not the foundations of French culture in this country, they merely reflected the sentiments which prevailed at any given time. When Franco-Americans began leaving their parishes to join Irish parishes in order to hear the Mass in English, Franco-American pastors had no alternative but to introduce English-language Masses. Had they not done so, they would have lost the majority of their parishioners. This same notion may be applied to the other Franco-American institutions. The blame does not lie with them.

Who, then, is responsible for the assimilation of the Franco-Americans? The answer can be found no farther than one's front door - the family. The foundation of every human being's life, that is, the individual's personality, perception of reality, values, habits, language, and identity all originate at home with the family. This may be narrowed down further by stating that of all the family members, the mother plays the most important role in the formation of her children. Even if a mother is employed, her children still manage to spend more time with her than they spend with their father. In the home, the responsibility rests with the mother, for it is from her that children learn their «mother tongue».[152] Women are usually the most faithful guardians of their children's education.[153]

If parents teach their children, while they are still very young and impressionable, to speak their mother tongue and to take pride in their ethnic heritage, the children will develop into adults who value their identity as Franco-Americans. They will thus preserve their language and traditions. As soon as parents begin to neglect the ethnic formation of their children, the forces of assimilation will immediately take over. These forces comprise a number of influences: television, radio, comic books, movies, friends and relatives who speak only English. Should parents decide to send their children to a Franco-American parochial school (the few that are left) without first having taught them to speak French, they cannot blame the school for assimilating their children, since the children had no language or ethnic heritage to destroy in the first place.

In this Bicentennial year, the citizens of the United States have suddenly become interested in their ethnic heritage. Perhaps they feel that they have lost something by ignoring it all these years. Fortunately, those who seem to have the most enthusiasm for studying foreign languages, reconstructing their family tree, and traveling to the «old country» to see where their ancestors once lived, are the young people, those who will shape the society of tomorrow. Several decades ago, adults accused the younger generation of falling prey to the propaganda of assimilation. Hopefully, the younger generation of today will make up for this loss by recapturing the past and making it useful in the present. If parents take a greater interest in the ethnic formation of their children, and if the bilingual programs of today's educators can receive full support of the government and the people, the future of all languages, including French, will remain bright. In this jet age, where Europe is but a few hours away, many more Americans are visiting the various countries abroad. Those who have already done so know the value of knowing a second language.

There are some who might feel that by speaking a foreign language and by identifying with one's ethnic heritage a person is being un-American and unpatriotic. On the contrary, the United States is a nation which advocates the freedom to be what one wishes to be. A person may owe allegiance to the United States and be proud of his or her ethnic heritage at the same time. If the Franco-Americans become successful in regaining the French language and in maintaining it in their homes, they will be all the more wealthy, both intellectually and culturally. If, on the other hand, the Franco-Americans one day disappear, it is because they will have wanted it.[154]

The great mosaic, the United States of America, through the assimilation of its various ethnic groups, has become dull and colorless with age. In this Bicentennial Year, 1976, the time has arrived to take a look at this masterpiece, this 200 year-old mosaic, and begin to restore it before its once brilliant colors fade away, never to return.

WHO'S WHO AND WHO WAS WHO AMONG FRANCO-AMERICANS

The following are but «a few» of the many Franco-Americans who have achieved notoriety in their respective fields but who were not previously mentioned in the text of this work.

Artists

Lorenzo De Nevers - born: Baie-du-Febvre, P.Q.; res: Paris, New York, Montreal, Central Falls, R.I.; noted painter among whose works are numerous portraits of well-known Franco-Americans, as well as many landscapes.

Lucien Gosselin - born: Whitefield, N.H.; res: Paris, Manchester, N.H.; sculptor, known especially for his masterpieces which adorn the parks, commons, and churches of many New England cities.

Government Officials

Herve L'Heureux - born: Manchester, N.H.; res: Canada, Germany, Portugal, France, Washington, D.C.; State Department official, American consul in various cities abroad.

Emery J. San Souci - born: Saco, Maine; res: Greenfield, Mass., Hartford, Conn., Providence, R.I.; politician, became the second Franco-American governor of Rhode Island.

Journalists

Philippe-Armand Lajoie - born: Wottonville, P.Q.; res: Montreal, Fall River, Mass.; editor of Fall River's French-language newspaper *L'Indépendant*.

Yvonne Le Maître - born: Pierreville, P.Q.; res: Paris, Lowell, Mass.; a critic as well as a journalist, she wrote for various English and French-language newspapers, including *L'Étoile* in Lowell.

Musicians

Bernard Barbeau - born: Peabody, Mass.; res: Nashua, N.H., Boston; pianist, opera singer, voice instructor at the New England Conservatory in Boston.

Dr. Wilfrid Pelletier - born: Montreal, P.Q.; res: Paris, New York; orchestra conductor, New York Metropolitan Opera.

Mutualists

Henri Goguen - born: Fitchburg, Mass.; res: Leominster, Mass.; President-General of *L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique* in Woonsocket, R.I. (1946-1974).

Gérald Robert - born and res: Manchester, N.H.; President-General of *L'Association Canado-Américaine* in Manchester, N.H. (1965 to date).

Sports Personalities

Louis (Lou) Boudreau - born: Harvey, Illinois; baseball player, managed the Cleveland Indians and the Boston Red Sox, and was the American League's Most Valuable Player in 1948.

Napoleon (Larry) Lajoie - born: Woonsocket, R.I.; played professional baseball during the early part of the 20th century, and was named to the National Baseball Hall of Fame in 1937.

Stars of Stage and Screen

Frank Fontaine - born: Cambridge, Mass.; comedian who achieved national fame on the «Jackie Gleason Show».

Robert Goulet - born: Lawrence, Mass.; singer and actor, Broadway star (Camelot).

Eva Tanguay - born: Holyoke, Mass.; singer, actress, and Vaudeville star.

Rudolph (Rudy) Vallée - born: Island Pond, Vt.; res: Westbrook, Maine; singer, actor.

Louis Dantin (pseudonym of Eugene Seers) - born: near Montreal; res: Cambridge, Mass.; poet, novelist, critic.

Henri D'Arles (pseudonym of Rev. Henri Beaudé) - born: Arthabaska, P.Q., res: primarily in Manchester, N.H.; world traveler, author, historian.

Jacques Ducharme - born: Holyoke, Mass., res: Stratford, Conn.; novelist, historian, folklorist.

Will Durant - born: North Adams, Mass.; internationally famous historian and philosopher.

Jean-Louis (Jack) Kérouac - born: Lowell, Mass.; famed novelist, one of the original proponents of the Beat Generation during the 1950's.

Rosaire Dion-Lévesque - born and res: Nashua, N.H., author of several books of poems in the French language, among which is a translation of some of the finest verses from Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass.*

Alice Lemieux-Lévesque, wife of the above - born: Quebec, P.Q.; res: St-Michel de Bellechasse, P.Q., Nashua, NH; also published poems in French.

Miscellaneous

Jean Garand - born: St-Rémi, P.Q.; res: Springfield, Mass., inventor of the Garand Rifle, which replaced the Springfield Rifle used by the American Armed Forces.

Rev. Thomas M. Landry, o.p. born: New Bedford, Mass.; res: Fall River, Mass.; past president of *Le Conseil de la Vie Française en Amérique* and staunch defender of the French language in New England.

Gen. Curtis Lemay - born: Columbus, Ohio; U.S. Army General, Head of the Strategic Air Command.

Joseph (Jos) Montferrand - born: Province of Quebec; res: Woonsocket, R.I., Manchester, N.H.; known throughout New England and Quebec as an invincible French-Canadian «strong man».

Footnotes

1. Francis Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), Vol. 2 pp. 14-20; see also Arthur L. Eno, *French Trails in the United States*, address before the members of the Lowell Historical Society, published under the auspices of the Franco-American Historical Society, 1940, pp. 3-4.

2. Edward Fecteau, *French Contributions of America*, published under the auspices of the Franco-American Historical Society, (Methuen: Soucy Press, 1945), pp. 5-7.

3. Antoine Degert, «Huguenots», in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Co., 1910), Vol. VII, pp. 527-37; See also John S. C. Abbott, *Henry IV* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1884).

4. Gilbert, Chinard, *Les Réfugiés Huguenots en Amérique* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1925), p. 8-9; Fecteau, pp. 7-10.

5. On the Massacre of St. Bartholomew see Abbott, pp. 109-36.

6. Degert, pp. 532-33.

7. Fecteau, pp. 15-16.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

9. From correspondence which stemmed from a conversation with Mr. Jacques Ducharme, January 31, 1976.

10. Bro. George R. Plante, *The Franco-American Parish in New England*, MA dissertation, Fordham University, New York, 1940, p. 2; see also Hervé B. Lemaire *The Franco-Americans of New England*, an unpublished manuscript prepared for the Language Resource Project of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1963, pp. 3-4.

11. On Étienne Brûlé see J. Herbert Cranston, *Étienne Brûlé Immortal Scoundrel* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1949); on Nicolet and Perrot see Josaphat Benoit, *Catéchisme d'Histoire Franco-Américaine*, publié sous les auspices de la Société Historique Franco-Américaine, (Manchester: L'Avenir National, 1939) pp. 26-28. On Radisson, Groseilliers, Marquette, Jolliet, La Salle, and Vérendrye see Eno, pp. 6-7.

12. Adrien Verrette, *Paroisse Sainte-Marie Manchester, New Hampshire*, (Manchester: Imprimerie Lafayette, 1931) pp. 264-65; see also Fecteau, pp. 21-26.

13. See Francis Parkman, *Frontenac and New France Under Louis XIV*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915).

14. Eno, p. 5.

15. Benoit, *Catéchisme*, pp. 26-33.

16. Degert, p. 533.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 534.

18. See Fecteau, pp. 11-15 for a list of hundreds of Huguenots' names and their places of settlement.

19. Benoit, *Catéchisme*, pp. 8, 10, 12, 15 and 22.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-14.

21. Plante, p. 2.

22. Jacques Ducharme, *The Shadows of the Trees*, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943) p. 154.

23. W. Stewart Wallace, ed., «Treaty of Utrecht» in *The Encyclopedia of Canada* (Toronto: University Associates of Canada Limited, 1948) Vol. VI, p. 224.

24. Josaphat Benoit, *L'Ame Franco-Américaine* (Montréal: Éditions Albert Lévesque, 1935), pp. 42-43; see also Lemaire, p. 6.

25. See Francis Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915) in 3 volumes.

26. Verrette, *Ste-Marie*, p. 92.

27. Benoit, *L'Ame*, p. 38.

28. Sr Florence M. Chevalier, *The Role of French National Societies in the Sociocultural Evolution of the Franco-Americans of New England from 1860 to the Present*, Ph. D. dissertation (Washington: Catholic U., 1972), p. 37, footnote no. 1.

29. Ducharme, *Shadows*, pp. 23-24.

30. William Henry Moore, *The Clash! A Study in Nationalities* (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, Limited, 1918) pp. 3-13.

31. For a list of some of the French and French-Canadian military men who fought against England in the American Revolutionary War see Fecteau, pp. 87-111.

32. André Lévêque, *Histoire de la Civilisation Française* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966, 3e édition), p. 242.

33. Benoit, *Catéchisme*, p. 16.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

37. Fecteau, p. 99; see also Benoit, *L'Ame*, p. 44.

38. J. L. K. Laflamme, David E. Lavigne and J. Arthur Favreau, «French Catholics in the United States» in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. VI pp. 271-72.

39. Benoit, *Catéchisme*, p. 18.

40. There were, of course, exceptions to this. In Maryland, which was governed by English Catholics, the Calvert family (the Lords Baltimore), freedom of worship was granted by virtue of the Act of Toleration of 1649. Surrounded by Protestants, Catholics struggled for many years to maintain their freedom of worship. By the time of the American Revolution, Catholicism was firmly planted in Maryland. For example, the name Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a Catholic, appears on the Declaration of Independence as a delegate from Maryland. In 1788, Pope Pius VI authorized the founding of the Diocese of Baltimore, with Rev. John Carroll as its first bishop. See A. Leo Knott, «Maryland» in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* , Vol IX, pp. 755-761.

41. Verrette, *Paroisse Ste-Marie*, p. 94.

42. Benoit, *Catéchisme*, pp. 36-38.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

44. Josaphat Benoit «Attitudes des Franco-Américains en Politique» in *Les Conférences de l'Institut Franco-Américain de Bowdoin College*. (Brunswick, 1961). p.8.

45. Ducharme, *Shadows*, p. 62.

46. For a detailed sketch of rural life in the Province of Quebec during the 19th century see Ralph Dominic Vicero, *Immigration of French-Canadians to New England, 1840-1900: A Geographical Analysis*, Ph. D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1968, pp. 10-76.

47. Plante, pp. 30-31.

48. Alexandre Bélisle, *Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américaine* (Worcester: L'Opinion Publique, 1911), p. 16; see also Benoit, *L'Ame* pp. 46-47.

49. Bélisle, pp. 16-17.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

51. See Ducharme, *Shadows*, p. 62.

52. For an example of the typical «planned» mill town see George Waldo Browne, *The Amoskeag Manufacturing Co. of Manchester, New Hampshire: A History* (Manchester: Printed and bound in the Mills of the Amoskeag Mfg. Co., 1915).

53. Arthur J. Moreau, Jr. *French Blood in New Hampshire* Thesis for Sociology, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH, p. 3.

54. Primarily based on a map located in the front of Ducharme, *Shadows*.

55. See Ducharme, *Shadows*, pp. 58-59.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

57. Benoit, *L'Ame*, p. 47.

58. For a look at the adjustment of a French-Canadian family from a rural agricultural life in Quebec to an urban industrial life in New England see Jacques Ducharme, *The Delusson Family* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1939); see also Camille Lessard, *Canuck*, (Lewiston: Éditions Le Messager 1936). The former is set in Holyoke while the latter is set in Lowell.

59. Ducharme, *Shadows*, p. 164; also, for an in depth look at how the French-Canadians actually carved out their respective roles in a labor situation, see Tamara K. Hareven, «The Laborers of Manchester, New Hampshire, 1912-1922: The Role of Family and Ethnicity in Adjustment to Industrial Life», a reprint from *Labor History*, Vol. 16, No. 2, Spring 1975.

60. Robert Rumilly, *Histoire des Franco-Américains*, sous les auspices de L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique (Montréal: Robert Rumilly, 1958), p. 30; see also Douze Missionnaires des Townships de l'Est, *Le Canadien Émigrant ou Pourquoi le Canadien-Français quitte-t-il le Bas-Canada?* (Québec: Imprimerie Coté et Cie., 1851).

61. Lemaire, p. 6.

62. See Peter Condon, «The Irish in the United States» in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. VIII, pp. 132-145.

63. See Chevalier, pp. 30-31.

64. See Plante, p. 39.

65. See Plante, pp. 40-48; see also Chevalier, pp. 47-48.

66. For more information on the founding of the French-Catholic Church in Vermont see E. Hamon, s.j. *Les Canadiens-Français de la Nouvelle-Angleterre* (Québec: N.S. Hardy), 1891, pp. 183-228.

67. See Peter Condon, «Knownothingism» in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. VIII, pp. 677-680.

68. Plante, pp. 47-51; see also Lemaire, pp. 11-14 and Chevalier pp. 26-28.

69. Ducharme, *Shadows*, p. 57; see also Benoit, *L'Ame* p. 51.

70. Wilfrid Henry Paradis, *French-Canadian Influence in Manchester, NH Before 1891*. MA dissertation, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, MD., 1949, p. 34.

71. Plante, p. 41.

72. See Ducharme, *Shadows*, pp. 34-36.

73. See Robin W. Winks and Adolphe Robert, «Un point d'histoire controversé» in *Le Canado-Américain*, Vol. I, No. II, février-mars 1960, pp. 33-43.

74. See *Vie Franco-Américaine*, 1943, pp. 177-184 on Calixa Lavallé and pp. 191-195 on Major Edmond Mallet; see also Fecteau, pp. 118-122 for many more names of French-Canadians who fought in the Civil War.

75. Paradis, p. 14.

76. Bélisle, p. 14; also, see Ducharme, *Shadows*, p. 24.

77. Chevalier, pp. 40-41.

78. Ulysse Forget, *Les Franco-Américains et le «Melting Pot» et Onomastique Franco-Américaine* (Fall River: Imprimerie de l'Indépendant, 1949), p. 20.

79. See Chevalier, p. 16.

80. For more on the founding of the early French-Canadian societies see Plante, pp. 97-98.

81. On *La Gazette Française* (Newport) see Benoit, *Catéchisme*, p. 22; on *Le Courrier de Boston* see Bélisle, pp. 355-357; on other newspapers see Bélisle, p. 27.

82. Bélisle, pp. 61-67.

83. Bélisle, pp. 68-92.

84. Hamon, *Les Canadiens-Français* contains much detailed information on the founding of the French-Canadian parishes before 1891.

85. See Lemaire, p. 21.

86. For more on the French-Canadian schools and bilingual education see Plante, pp. 72-93.

87. Ducharme, *Shadows*, pp. 63-64.

88. Hamon, p. 33.

89. Ducharme, *Shadows*, pp. 181-182.

90. Lemaire, p. 8.

91. Bélisle, pp. 93-107.

92. Bélisle, pp. 113-115.

93. Ducharme, *Shadows*, pp. 131-132.

94. Benoit, «Attitudes», p. 14.

95. These and other reasons for the slow development of the French-Canadians in American politics are listed in Benoit, «Attitudes», pp. 13-16.

96. See J. Arthur Favreau, «The Chinese of the Eastern States», a reprint from *L'Avenir National*, Manchester, NH., Nov. 19, 1924.

97. For further information see Bélisle, pp. 321-330; see also Chevalier, pp. 91-97.

98. Benoit, «Attitudes» p. 17.

99. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

100. Bélisle, p. 170.

101. Rumilly, p. 160.

102. Chevalier, p. 40.

103. See Plante, p. 14.

104. See Laurent Galarneau, *Histoire de la Garde Lafayette ou Compagnie A du Premier Régiment de la Garde Nationale de l'État du New Hampshire* (Manchester: Imprimerie de l'Avenir National, 1937).

105. Adolphe Robert, *Mémorial des Actes de L'Association Canado-Américaine* (Manchester: L'Avenir National, 1946) pp. 11-13.

106. Rumilly, p. 168-172.

107. Lemaire, p. 15.

108. Rumilly, pp. 218-219.

109. Verrette, *Ste-Marie*, pp. 287-296.

110. Laflamme, Lavigne, and Favreau, «French Catholics», p. 277.

111. Bélisle, pp. 216-217.

112. See Edmond J. Valade, *The Amoskeag Strike of 1922*, M.A. dissertation, University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH 1964, pp. 13-20.

113. Valade, p. 4; see also Hareven, pp. 262-263.

114. *Vie Franco-Américaine*, 1943, pp. 195-198.

115. Rumilly, p. 312.

116. Lemaire, p. 41.

117. For a rather extensive list of mutilations, abbreviations, and translations of French names see Forget, pp. 21-52.

118. See Robert Grandchamp, (Pseudonym of Adolphe Robert), «Les Monts Verts», a reprint of two articles which appeared in *Le Progrès*, Nov. 14 and 28, 1930.

119. Among these bills were the Smith-Hughes Bill, the Jackson Bill, the Chamberlain Bill, the Smith-Towner Bill and Peck Educational Bill. See Rumilly pp. 312-43.

120. For various views, subjective as well as objective, see J. Albert Foisy, *Histoire de L'Agitation Sentinelliste dans la Nouvelle-Angleterre 1925-1928* (Woonsocket: La Tribune Publishing Co., 1928); Elphège J. Daignault, *Le Vrai Mouvement Sentinelliste en Nouvelle-Angleterre 1923-1929 et L'Affaire du Rhode Island* (Montréal: Les Éditions du Zodiaque, 1926); Robert, *Mémorial*, pp. 222-284; Rumilly, pp. 364-503; Chevalier, pp. 207-250.

121. In presenting this brief exposé on *L'Affaire de la Sentinelle*, the writer is merely attempting to relate in the most objective manner possible an event which occurred in the history of the Franco-Americans. Although it is of a sensitive and controversial nature, this movement cannot simply be ignored. To do so would be to commit an injustice to history. The writer has no intention whatsoever of reopening the wounds which a great amount of time and understanding have healed. Since the writer did not live through the period in question, his observations and conclusions are the result of extensive research on the subject. There is in no way any attempt to judge, but only to inform.

122. See Valade, *The Amoskeag Strike;* see also Anonymous, *History of Amoskeag Strike During the Year 1922* (Manchester: Printed and Bound in the Mills of the Amoskeag Mfg. Co., 1924).

123. Benoit, «Attitudes», p. 17; see also Lemaire, p. 40.

124. Lemaire, p. 26.

125. Lemaire, p. 26.

126. Elphège E. Roy, *Les Causes du Déclin de la Presse Franco-Américaine,* M.A. dissertation, Rivier College, Nashua, NH, p. 25.

127. Ducharme, *Shadows*, p. 19.

128. Lemaire, pp. 45-46.

129. Roy, p. 33.

130. Chevalier, p. 279.

131. For a detailed account of the participation of the Franco-Americans in this *Congrès* see Adrien Verrette, *La Croisade Franco-Américaine* (Manchester: L'Avenir National, 1938).

133. Chevalier, p. 25.

134. Lemaire, pp. 48-49.

135. *Vie Franco-Américaine*, 1949, pp. 602-604.

136. Lemaire, pp. 55-56.

137. For a brief account of this *Congrès* see Gérald Robert, *Mémorial II des Actes de L'Association Canado-Américaine 1946-1971* (Manchester: Ballard Bros., 1975) pp. 147-152.

138. See Roy, p. 25.

139. Emile Lemelin, «Mgr Ernest J. Primeau est nommé évêque de Manchester» in *Le Canado-Américain*, Vol. 1, No. 11, février-mars, 1960, pp. 3-4.

140. Chevalier, p. 29.

141. See Gérard J. Brault, «Comment doit-on enseigner le français aux jeunes Franco-Américains?» in *Le Canado-Américain*, Vol. 2, No. 6, avril-mai 1961, pp. 30-34.

142. See Thomas M. Landry, o.p. et. al., *La Crise de l'Enseignement du Français dans nos Écoles Paroissiales,* Actes du VIIIe Congrès des Franco-Américains, Manchester, 1965.

143. Lemaire, p. 72.

144. Chevalier, pp. 316-318.

145. Lemaire, p. 53.

146. David S. Strickler, «Five Heroes Come Home» in *The New Hampshire Sunday News*, August 31, 1969, p. 1.

147. See Paul P. Chassé «Monseigneur Louis-Edouard Gélineau, Évêque de Providence» in *Le Canado-Américain*, Vol. 6, No. 10, avril-mai-juin 1972, pp. 29-32; see also Gérald Robert, ed., «S.E. Mgr Odore J. Gendron le Septième Évêque de Manchester» in *Le Canado-Américain*, nouvelle série Vol. 1, No. 3, janvier-février-mars 1975, pp. 3-6; also Gérald Robert, ed., «S.E. Mgr Amédée W. Proulx Évêque Auxiliaire au Maine» in *Le Canado-Américain*, nouvelle série, Vol. 1, octobre-novembre-décembre, 1975, p. 14.

148. See Chevalier, pp. 318-324.

149. Elmo C. Authement, «Renouveau Français en Louisiane» in *Vie Française*, Vol. 30, No. 4-5-6, décembre-janvier-février, 1975-76, pp. 65-73.

150. G. Mathias Pagé, «Le Richelieu International» in *Vie Française*. Vol. 30, No. 4-5-6, décembre-janvier-février, 1975-76, pp. 59-64; see also Chevalier, pp. 158-166.

151. Chevalier, p. 279.

152. Ducharme, *Shadows*, pp. 146-147.

153. Reine Malouin, *Où Chante la Vie* (Québec: Éditions de L'Action Catholique, 1962), p. 70.

154. Adolphe Robert «La Situation actuelle au New Hampshire» in *Les Franco-Américains peints par eux-mêmes*. Publications de L'Association Canado-Américaine (Montréal: Éditions Albert Lévesque, 1936), p. 230.

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LOUISIANA'S FRENCH HERITAGE

by

Truman Stacey

Introduction

This is the story of the French contribution to the colonization of the New World. It describes the settlement of the Acadian Peninsula, the discovery and exploration of the Mississippi River, the development of the first Louisiana colony, and the persecution and exile of the French-Acadian people from their homeland in the mid-Eighteenth Century.

It was the fishing business that first brought the French to the New World; and it was the fur trade, coupled with a desire to convert the red man to Christianity, that motivated them to permanently sink their roots into the soil of the Acadian Peninsula, known today as Nova Scotia. They were attracted to the interior of the continent by tales of rich copper and silver fields; by hopes of finding the Beautiful River, which the Indians said flowed southward to the open waters of the warm sea; and by the desire to spread the religious faith which they themselves embraced.

The story was researched and written by veteran journalist Truman Stacey, who is editor of the Lake Charles American Press and has been since 1961. He started his newspaper career in 1937 as a copy boy for the Houston Post just after finishing high school. He has worked for newspapers in Beaumont, Detroit, Washington, D.C., and Oklahoma City.

Stacey wrote the story in 1972 after researching the subject for the better part of that summer. He says he became fascinated with Louisiana's French Heritage while working with the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana, the state agency dedicated to the preservation of the state's French language, culture and heritage.

–Trent Angers

Pioneers in the New World

It all began late in the Fifteenth Century, when the men of Europe were becoming better acquainted with the sea, at a time when sailing ships were being improved and navigational aids were being developed.

The Italians, who had for centuries dominated the sea lanes of the Mediterranean, led the way in developing better marine and navigational techniques. Italian mariners became widely sought after by all courts of Western Europe.

One such mariner, from Genoa, sailing under the banner of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, reported that he had reached the shores of India by sailing west into the Atlantic Ocean. He brought back native tribesmen and exotic plants to prove his claim.

Other mariners began to cast reflective eyes toward the west. If one sailor could get to India by sailing west, why not others? they reasoned. Other sovereigns, apprehensive that Spain might come to control all of the trade with the Orient, began to lay their own plans for trading expeditions. Merchants of the Atlantic coastal nations began to awaken to the possibilities of profitable relations with those strange climes to the west.

Among these were the merchants of Bristol, on the west coast of England. They decided to finance an exploration and trading expedition, and they had just such a man as they needed in their employ. He was Giovanni Caboto, a Genoan like Columbus, who had spent many years in Venice as a trading captain. With the blessings of King Henry VII, Caboto (The British called him John Cabot, since that was easier to spell and to pronounce), set sail from Bristol in May of 1497, in the ship *Mathew*, manned by a crew of 18.

Rounding Ireland, Caboto headed north and then west. After 52 days at sea, he made landfall at what is now Cape Breton Island. Caboto was convinced he had found the northeast shore of Asia, but it was a forbidding coast, and no rich Asians were to be found. Small vessels of the day did not linger long on unknown coasts, and the *Mathew* soon sailed back to Bristol, arriving home in August.

Caboto was disappointed that he had not discovered the Great Khan and rich cities, and so were his merchant backers. King Henry VII somewhat grudgingly presented him with 10 pounds sterling (That would be about $50.00 today) for «having found the new isle.»

Caboto and his men made one discovery, however, that was to have far-reaching effects upon the future history of Europe. They discovered the Grand Banks of Newfoundland and its enormous supply of codfish.

When Caboto's seamen reached home and dispersed after the voyage, it was natural for them to spread tales about the shoals which teemed with fish.

It was not long before fishing vessels from France were tempted to test the fishing in New World waters. Records show that the first Norman fishing vessel showed up at the Grand Banks in 1504, and it was not long after before mariners from Dieppe, Rouen, Le Havre, Fécamp, Harfleur and Honfleur were making annual voyages to the Grand Banks.

French mariners soon were making two trips annually to New World waters. They set out in late January or early February, braving the North Atlantic winter, and returned as soon as their holds were full. Then, in April or May, they were off again, returning to France again in September.

In the early years, fish were taken, cleaned and put in the hold between thick layers of salt. This was «wet» fishing. It was not long, however, before mariners discovered that the cod could be sun-dried on land. Cured cod was tastier than the salt variety and easier to handle.

Curing the codfish necessitated establishing depots ashore, however, and the French began to go ashore each summer at some snug harbor or inlet on an island or along the coast. The French, the Portuguese and the English established depots on Newfoundland, on the Acadian Peninsula at Canseau and La Heve, on Cape Breton Island, and at Tadousac, on the St. Lawrence River.

Once the ships arrived at the chosen depot, they would be unrigged for the season. The crew went ashore to cut timber and build platforms or stages which extended out into the sea.

The actual fishing was done in small boats manned by four or five men. When they returned with boatloads of fish, they threw their catches upon the stages. There they were cleaned, salted and dried in preparation for the trip back to France.

When the French fishermen first began to venture ashore in the New World to dry their fish, or hunt for game, or gather fresh berries, they came in contact with the natives. At the time of the white man's arrival, the Acadian Peninsula was occupied by roving bands of aborigines, called Micmacs by today's scholars.

The Micmacs were of the Algonkin language family and enjoyed a hunting and food-gathering culture of the more primitive sort. At the time the French began to live in the New World, there were about 3,000 of these people, wandering over the Acadian Peninsula and adjoining islands.

They had only rudimentary social organizations, and they wandered about in small bands which were in actuality only large families. Mostly they set their wanderings to coincide with their food supply.

In the spring, they left their camps along the inland lakes and streams in the forest and wandered about the seashores, gathering clams, oysters, scallops and other seafood at low tide. Some of the more adventurous even ventured into deeper waters to hunt seals, walrus and porpoise, and they always welcomed the return of the vast numbers of codfish.

In the autumn, they returned to the forests, tracking down spawning eels in the tidal rivers, and later in winter turning their attention to moose hunting and beaver trapping. Caribou, otter and bear were also coveted game.

The bow and arrow formed the Micmacs' chief hunting weapon, and they also used a wide variety of traps and snares. Their dogs played an important role in the hunt.

Vegetable food was generally plentiful, but the Micmacs seem to have utilized vegetables only during times of meat shortage.

The birchbark canoe was perhaps the most efficient transportation vehicle developed in North America, and all of the Eastern tribes used it. The craft was relatively easy to construct, was very light in weight and shallow in draft, yet an ordinary canoe was capacious enough to hold a household of five or six persons, their dogs, sacks, skins, kettles and other baggage. The canoe was particularly suited for inland routes where water was shallow and portages from a few yards to a mile or more were common.

In winter, the Micmacs traveled on snowshoes, which excited French curiosity from the beginning. They likened them to the tennis rackets they used in France.

With these tools, the Micmacs were able to wander where they pleased, and they astounded the French with their knowledge of the topographical features of the country. When they moved through country they had previously traversed, their memory for the lay of the land was uncannily accurate. They also passed knowledge from one to another by means of crude bark maps.

The conical wigwam familiar to all schoolchildren was the generally used shelter by the Micmacs. Its array of supporting poles was used to support overlapping strips of bark. Sometimes, mats woven of swamp grasses were used instead of bark. Animal skins were used as entrance flaps, and for the more affluent, or for the more successful hunters, might be used to cover the entire wigwam.

Household equipment such as cups, dippers and boxes were made of birch bark, until trade with the French brought iron utensils to the Micmacs. The Micmacs used furs and skins for their clothing, and there were almost no differences in the dress of the sexes.

The Micmacs were not warlike, and they set up a friendly relationship with the French. Since the early settlers confined themselves almost exclusively to the tidal marshes and did not invade the forest, there were few occasions for clashes.

The Micmacs were useful to the French chiefly as guides, canoemen, hunters and fur trappers. Their ties with the French were reinforced by a slow but ultimately almost universal attachment to the Roman Catholic religion.

They were also useful in providing valuable lore on fishing and hunting, the knowledge of local nuts, roots, berries, and grasses, the making of clothing and footwear from skins, the making of fibers from roots and animal sinews, and the use of dyes from a wide variety of vegetable sources.

Had there been no Micmacs in Nova Scotia at the time of the French settlement, that settlement would probably have come much later, and it would have been much more difficult, and its historical significance may well have been altered drastically.

French fishermen who sailed to the Grand Banks for their shiploads of cod and other fish also brought back home accounts of the forests, rivers and beaches of the new lands westward. And the courts of Europe buzzed with the tales of the vast treasures the Spaniards were finding in Mexico.

Other crowned heads began to consider the New World awaiting exploitation. They were intrigued by the tales of the gold the Spaniards had won. They mused over the trading advantages that would accrue to the nation that discovered the fabled Northwest Passage to India.

King Francis I of France was one of these rulers, who decided that France should not be left out of this pursuit of riches and glory. Most of the kings of Europe at that time employed Italian artists, scientists and navigators to add a luster of culture to their courts. King Francis was no exception.

He selected a Florentine shipmaster, Giovanni da Verrazano, to spearhead the ventures of France in the New World. Verrazano sailed from Madeira in 1524 aboard *La Dauphine*, a small ship with a crew of 50 Normans.

Verrazano was driven off his course and arrived at the coasts of the New World, probably near the mouth of the Cape Fear River. He sailed northward along the coast, exploring the littoral as far as Cape Race before returning to Dieppe.

His return was celebrated at court, but Francis found himself too entangled in European problems to do much about Verrazano's discoveries.

A decade passed before another French official took up the task of New World discovery. In 1534, Jacques Cartier sailed from St. Malo as an agent of the Admiral of France, Philippe de Brion-Chabot, on a voyage of reconnaissance.

Cartier rounded Newfoundland and passed through the Straits of Belle Isle, erected a wooden cross at Gaspé and ascended the mouth of the St. Lawrence River as far as an Indian village called Anacosti. Convinced that he had discovered the Northwest Passage, he returned to France.

His reports opened such glowing possibilities that Admiral Chabot commissioned Cartier to undertake a second voyage. King Francis invested 3,000 *livres* in the enterprise. This time Cartier departed in the spring of 1535 with three ships and 110 men.

By August 13, this expedition had sailed beyond the westernmost point of his first voyage, and, leaving the bulk of his expedition at Anacosti, Cartier and 30 men ascended the St. Lawrence River to the Indian village of Hochelaga, at the foot of a mountain that Cartier named Mount Royal, and which is the current site of Montreal.

The Indians told Cartier that there was another great river to the west, and a land where the natives wore European clothing, lived in towns and possessed great stores of copper and silver.

The next day they returned to their base, and there built a small fort on the site of present-day Québec. This fort is about two degrees south of the latitude of Paris, and Cartier and his men had no way of knowing that winters in the New World would be any different than winters in France.

The shock they received from the mid-November snows must have been overwhelming. The River froze solid, imprisoning the ships. Snowdrifts sometimes climbed very high. Ice four inches thick covered the ship decks and riggings. Sub-zero winds howled without surcease across the frozen river.

As if that were not enough, scurvy struck. By mid-November only a dozen of the 110 men were still healthy, and 25 died before the Indians showed the French a remedy made by the bark and needles of white cedar boiled in water. This tonic revived the ill.

When the winter of misery ended, Cartier and his men returned to France. After the king received his report, the crown selected Jean François de la Roque, Sieur de Roberval, to head the next expedition, which the King hoped would be able to plant a colony in the New World. Cartier was to be his chief captain. In order to get the necessary manpower for his squadron, Roberval was empowered to ransack France's prisons and to conscript anyone he wished.

The expedition was not prepared in time, however, and Cartier sailed in 1541, expecting Roberval to follow. Once more Cartier reached the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and there began to prepare for the coming colonists. Roberval did not weigh anchor until April of 1542, however, and when his ship sailed into the harbor of what is now St. John, Newfoundland, he found Cartier there, the latter having abandoned the attempted colonization and preparing to sail for France.

Roberval ordered Cartier to return to the St. Lawrence, but the captain slipped anchor in the night and sailed for France. Roberval continued to the St. Lawrence and there constructed a barracks for his colony at the Indian village of Tadousac, where visiting fishermen and fur traders built a few shacks.

Experience in New World living was absent, however, and so was wisdom. Nothing went right for the new colony. In 1543, the king sent Cartier out once again, this time to rescue Roberval and his survivors.

The Marquis de la Roche was the next proposed colonizer, and he too was given permission to make a French lodgement in the New World. In 1598, he landed a group of colonists, mostly convicts, on Sable Island, off present-day Nova Scotia.

Contrary winds drove La Roche's ship out to sea, and he returned to France. It was not until 1603 that another vessel was dispatched to look for the survivors of the Sable Island colony. The rescuers found 11 gaunt, bearded men, whom they returned to France.

In 1600, a merchant of St. Malo named François Grave, Sieur de Pont (sometimes called Pontgrave), went into partnership with Pierre Chauvin, a sea captain, in the hopes of doing some profitable trading in the New World. Chauvin took a small vessel up the St. Lawrence to Tadousac. Chauvin landed 16 men to winter here, while he sought a shipload of furs. He returned to France in the fall.

When he returned to Tadousac the following spring, he discovered that the 16 men he had left had found it impossible to subsist in the grim winter months. Most of them had died and the few survivors had joined the Indians.

By now, a new king had assumed the French throne - Henry IV - and it fell to him to supervise the actual establishment of New France. He had a number of reasons for doing so, one of the most important being the growing profitability of the fur trade with the Indians.

As the fishing boats from France became regular visitors to the Grand Banks, they began to congregate at rendezvous points along the coast, where they dried their fish ashore during the winter months.

Some of these rendezvous points were St. John, in Newfoundland; Tadousac, near the mouth of the St. Lawrence River; Canseau, at the tip of the Nova Scotia peninsula; and La Heve, farther down the peninsula.

During their stay ashore during the summer months, some of the French struck up a brisk but informal trade with the Indians. The native tribes soon developed a taste for the white man's artifacts, and were avid for iron knives, axes and pots, as well as cloth and all manner of trinkets.

Each summer, the number of Indians who came to the coast to trade increased. French seamen began to realize that they could turn a nice profit on this trade and, in fact, might clear more profit with considerably less labor then went into the unpleasant chores of drying or salting fish.

Soon ships were sailing from France bent on the fur trade alone. As a staple, furs were superior to fish in a number of ways. They were light in weight, and their value in relation to bulk was high. They were easy to package, easy to transport, and there was no danger of spoilage, as with fish.

Best of all, there was little labor involved. The Indians trapped the animals, skinned carcasses, cured the furs and brought them to the coast.

The growing popularity of the broad-brimmed felt hat in Europe was a boon to the fur trade. The fur of the beaver was the best material for making felt. By the sixteenth century, however, the beaver had become all but extinct in Western Europe, and only limited supplies came in from Russia and Scandinavia.

Beaver flourished in North America, and the cold Canadian winters made the animals grow thicker, more luxurious fur than those with which Europeans were familiar.

The Indians used beaver pelts to make robes to wear and to sleep in. The sweat and grease of their bodies and the smoke of their lodges made the furs soft and supple, and thus easy to process in making felt.

In the early days of the fur trade, a knife, an axe or a few trinkets worth a couple of dollars in France could be traded for a robe that would bring more than two hundred dollars in Paris.

With such huge profits available, the fur trade grew apace, and the Indians soon learned not to trade with the first ship that arrived, but to wait until several had appeared to compete with each other.

This kind of competition quickly reduced the profits, and the fur traders began to seek rules and regulations to govern the trade. Also, French officials began to look with covetous interest upon the trade.

The crown quickly decided that if there were so much profit to be made, then some enterprising merchant would be willing to pay the crown a handsome sum for a monopoly of the trade.

That was the situation when the new king, Henry IV, began to take an interest in the New World. One of Henri's early supporters had been Aymar de Chastes, Commander of the Order of St. John. The king gave de Chastes a patent to settle a French colony in the New World.

De Chastes chose a young French soldier, Samuel de Champlain, fresh from adventures in New Spain, to make a survey.

De Chastes had formed a corporation made up of the principal merchants of Rouen to finance his New World venture. One of these was Pontgrave, who had been associated with Chauvin's earlier venture at Tadousac.

Pontgrave was to command the ship that was to take Champlain to the New World to make his survey. The little expedition sailed on March 15, 1603, and on May 6 made first landfall at Newfoundland. On May 24, the vessel arrived at Tadousac.

After concluding peaceful overtures with the Indians and promising them friendship and aid, Pontgrave and Champlain sailed up the river to Sault St. Louis, stopping en route at Hare Island (so named by Cartier) and a narrow neck of the river the Indians called Québec.

During his voyage, he questioned the neighboring Indian tribesmen whom he met and gathered information about lakes Ontario and Erie, the Detroit River, Niagara Falls and the rapids farther up the St. Lawrence.

After a return to Tadousac, the expedition sailed along the southern lip of the St. Lawrence before returning to France. Havre de Grace was reached on August 16, 1603, after a passage of 35 days.

Pontgrave and Champlain were saddened to learn upon their return that the old soldier, Aymar de Chastes, had died a few weeks earlier. The death of de Chastes would almost certainly have meant the end of the French colonization effort had not Champlain become so interested in the project that he determined to promote it with the king. He was successful in keeping Henri's interest alive.

Henri decided upon Pierre de Gua (also called de Guast), Sieur de Monts and governor of Pons, as the man to take up the task de Chastes surrendered in death. De Monts had served under Henri in the religious wars, and was a Huguenot. He was commissioned «lieutenant general of New France», was given a monopoly of the fur trade for ten years and was obliged to settle a colony of 60 people in New France.

De Monts was not a stranger to the New World. He had visited Tadousac with Chauvin in 1600, and that experience had caused him to determine that a successful colony could only be settled farther south, away from the dread northern winters.

It was to fall to de Monts and Champlain, therefore, to form the actual beginnings of New France, which in time was to include Louisiana and a dozen other states of the American union.

Pierre de Gua, the Sieur de Monts, was a hard-headed businessman. He was determined that his venture into New France would be properly backed. He formed a stock company among the merchants of Rouen, St. Malo, La Rochelle and St. Jean de Luz.

He fitted out two ships, which sailed from Le Havre in March of 1604. On board were de Monts himself, Pontgrave and Champlain. There was also Jean de Biencourt, Sieur de Poutrincourt, a nobleman of Picardy and a substantial investor, who had decided to accompany the first voyage west.

Having been rebuffed by the Canadian winters, de Monts determined to set up his quarters farther south, where the climate was known to be less severe. He chose La Cadie, or Acadia, a vague region then said to extend from Montreal south to the area of what is now Pennsylvania. The word is probably a corruption of a Micmac Indian word, *quoddy* or *caddy*, meaning a place or a piece of land.

It was a long voyage, made uncomfortable by the fact that most of the 100 «colonists» were recruited in the usual way, from prisons and from among the vagabonds of the road.

The two ships finally reached the entrance of the Bay of Fundy and explored it. They must have been awed by the 60-foot tides that rage in those restricted waters. They sailed into Annapolis Basin, and all hands were struck by its harbor facilities and the green-lined shores.

De Monts decided, however, to plant his headquarters on an island (now Dotchet Island) across the Bay of Fundy at the mouth of a river he called the St. Croix, so that he might erect a fort there to command the entrance of the bay.

It was an unfortunate choice, because few of those on hand were really prepared for a Canadian winter untempered by the warming strands of the Gulf Stream. Once more the settlers suffered from the cold. The houses were small shelter against the cold. Cider and wine froze in the casks and had to be served by the pound. Nearly half of the colonists died of scurvy during that first winter.

Warned by this experience, de Monts took advantage of the spring to move the colony back across the Bay of Fundy to the Annapolis Basin, where he established a post named Port Royal. De Monts had granted this area to Poutrincourt, but the latter and Pontgrave had gone back to France for more settlers and supplies.

During the summer, Pontgrave arrived from France with more supplies and with 40 additional men. In the fall, de Monts himself returned to France with a number of workers whose contracts had expired and with the furs that the party had gathered. Pontgrave and Champlain remained through the winter, during which scurvy took another 12 men.

In July of 1606 Poutrincourt arrived at Port Royal aboard the *Jonas* with more men, more supplies and some livestock. The little colony fared well enough in the winter, although another seven men met death through scurvy.

The colonists by now had some home-grown wheat and vegetables to supplement the supplies from France, and judging from Champlain's journal, not all was hardship. In fact, Champlain organized a society of gourmets from among the leaders, called «the Ordre de Bon Temps».

In the spring of 1607, however, disaster struck. Word came from de Monts in France that his fur monopoly had been rescinded, and Poutrincourt was directed to abandon the Acadia enterprise and return all hands to France. On August 11 of that year, the glum colonists boarded ship to return to France. Some of them may have elected to remain on their own, to live with the Micmacs and hunt, fish and trap furs, but if so their names are not recorded.

Poutrincourt, once in France, set about finding new financial backers and applied in his own right for trading rights in Acadia.

It took Poutrincourt two years to gain financial backing of a group of merchants of Dieppe. He returned early in 1610 with his two sons, Charles de Biencourt and Jacques de Salazar. He was also accompanied by a business associate, Claude de la Tour de Saint-Etienne, and the latter's 17-year-old son, Charles, as well as a chaplain, Rev. Jesse Fleche, and 23 other men.

Within a few months, Father Fleche had baptized a Micmac chief, whom the French called Memberton, and 21 of his followers.

Later in the year, Poutrincourt sent his son, Charles de Biencourt, back to France for more food supplies for a colony which had not yet learned a great deal about living off the land in the New World.

The French authorities decided to send out two Jesuit missionaries to aid in conversion of the Indians, but the Protestant merchants of Dieppe who had financed Poutrincourt's venture objected, refused to advance any more credit and called in their loans to Poutrincourt.

Young Biencourt, caught in this religious-financial tangle, turned for assistance to Antoinette de Pons, Marquess of Guercheville, who had an influential position as lady-in-waiting to the French queen, Catherine de Medici.

The marquess agreed to pay off the Dieppe merchants and to obtain funds for more supplies. In return, she asked that two Jesuits, Rev. Ennemond Masse and Rev. Pierre Barid, be allowed to sail back to Acadia to establish Indian missions.

On Jan. 16, 1611, Biencourt and his party set sail aboard the *Grâce à Dieu*, bound for Acadia. He was accompanied by 36 men and his mother, Madame de Poutrincourt, who thus became one of the first European women to visit the New World.

The voyage was a difficult one, and for four months the weary party was buffeted by storms, adverse winds and icebergs, before they finally dropped anchor at Port Royal.

When the Marquess de Guercheville agreed to provide finances for the Poutrincourt colony in Acadia, she was motivated to do so because she was interested in the spiritual welfare of the Indians.

Before long, however, disputes broke out between Poutrincourt and his son, Biencourt, and the Jesuit missionaries sent to the colony by the marquess. Poutrincourt was a businessman, interested in gathering furs. The Jesuits, of course, were chiefly concerned with establishing an Indian mission.

When she heard of this dispute the Marquess de Guercheville decided to withdraw her support of the Poutrincourt colony and establish one of her own. Poutrincourt went back to France to work out better terms, but could not dissuade the marquess.

In 1613, therefore, she sent *La Fleur de May*, with 50 persons on board, to settle a colony called Saint-Sauveur, located near the present-day Penobscot, in Maine.

By now, the English, who had finally managed to establish a colony in Virginia in 1607, learned of the French colonies to the north. They deemed these colonies intrusions upon territory gained by the voyage of Caboto.

Thomas Dale, the governor of Virginia, authorized an English freebooter, Samuel Argall, to destroy the French colonies. Argall, with a small fleet, in 1613 attacked the colony at Penobscot, killed one of the Jesuits there, burned all of the buildings, took some prisoners back as slaves to Virginia and set 16 others adrift at sea in a small boat. The latter were rescued by a fishing vessel in an unusual stroke of good luck.

Argall then turned to Port Royal and did the same thing. Fortunately, most of the settlers were inland on a fur-trading mission, while the others were several miles up the Annapolis Valley, tending fields. Argall burned the colony's buildings and took off with the livestock and all the provisions that could be found.

Meanwhile, Poutrincourt was able to secure more financial backing from merchants in La Rochelle and finally arrived back in Port Royal on March 21, 1614. He immediately departed for France, carrying the colony's cache of furs. Going back to France with him was Louis Hebert, an apothecary who had spent four years in Acadia.

While attempting to work out the colony's salvation, Poutrincourt became involved in a civil war that ripped France apart. Both he and his son, Jacques de Salazar, were killed in a battle against the Prince de Conde.

Hebert sought out that other Acadian veteran, Samuel de Champlain, and asked his help to found a colony on the St. Lawrence River. This was later to become Québec.

The death of Poutrincourt left his son, Charles de Biencourt, in charge of Port Royal, and Biencourt decided to stay in the New World and concentrate upon the fur trade. Biencourt and his men traded with the Indians and established observation posts along the coast.

When they had gathered enough furs, they signaled a French fishing vessel to come in to trade for ammunition and other supplies. Biencourt's force at this time consisted of his second in command, young Charles de Latour, and 20 other men.

They lived with the Indians, absorbed many of their customs, and became the first of the *coureurs de bois*. Some of them married Indian wives, and their descendants today still live in Canada's eastern Indian reserves. As a settlement, therefore, Port Royal practically ceased to exist.

Biencourt died prematurely at the age of 31 and was buried at La Prée Ronde, near Port Royal. Latour took over the enterprise, claiming that this was part of Biencourt's last will and testament.

While the French were seeking furs, the English decided to found their own colony in the north. Taking advantage of the civil war in France, King James I of England gave Sir William Alexander, a Scottish earl, a grant of all the lands north of the Massachusetts colony that had been discovered by Caboto.

In 1629, Alexander sent 100 Scottish colonists to settle on the Acadian Peninsula. They landed about five miles from the former Port Royal and built Charles Fort. The Scottish settlers remained there until 1632, when the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye sorted out the French and English possessions in the New World, and returned Acadia and Canada to France. Most of the Scottish settlers were returned to England, but a few families remained and became French subjects.

After the settlers at Charles Fort had departed, Charles de Latour, who had remained in the interior with his *coureurs de bois*, decided to renew contacts with France. When his father, Claude, came on a visit, Charles asked him to take a letter to the French court, asking that his trading rights be recognized.

Claude was captured by the English on his return voyage and was taken to Alexander, who offered him and his son titles of nobility in England in return for the outposts they occupied in Acadia. Claude decided to accept the English offer, but Charles indignantly refused.

Charles' trading rights, which he supposedly had inherited from Biencourt, had not been recognized in France, however, and after the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, Cardinal Richelieu decided to organize a company to exploit the fur trade.

Richelieu sent his cousin, Isaac de Razilly of Touraine, to head the colony with the impressive title of «Lieutenant-General of all New France and Governor of Acadia.» Razilly departed from France in 1632, with three ships and some 300 colonists.

Razilly landed his force at La Heve, on the eastern shore of the Acadian Peninsula, and then sailed around to take possession of Charles Fort and the remains of the settlement at Penobscot.

Charles de Latour resented the new governor, and Razilly, knowing of the former's influence with the Indians, wished to placate him. Razilly agreed to maintain his colony at La Heve, and leave to Latour his chief fur depot at Cape Sable.

Razilly also granted Latour fishing and hunting rights along the Saint John River in New Brunswick, where Latour built a fort he called Jemseg.

Two of Razilly's chief associates in

the Acadian venture were Charles de Menou de Charnisay, Sieur d'Aulnay, and Nicholas Denys. D'Aulnay was put in charge of settlers and agricultural pursuits. Denys was charged with building up the fisheries and the fur and timber trade with France.

Thus, it finally seemed that the French in Acadia were about to embark on a period of growth and prosperity.

The prosperity promised to the French ventures in Acadia under the leadership of Isaac de Razilly was short-lived. For nearly four years the new colony at La Heve prospered, then Razilly died suddenly in 1635. The death of this nephew of Richelieu, who enjoyed the confidence of the highest of French officials at home, marked the beginning of a long period of dispute in Acadia.

The trading company which Richelieu had organized to handle Acadian affairs decided that Charles de Menou de Charnisay, Sieur d'Aulnay, one of Razilly's lieutenants, was to take Razilly's place as head of the Acadian venture. This decision, of course, disappointed Charles Latour and Nicholas Denys, each of whom felt he should have been named to head the trading venture.

About a year after Razilly's death, d'Aulnay decided to move his settlement from La Heve to Port Royal, where there was more arable land.

Meanwhile, Latour's fur trade was prospering, and he was mending his political fences back in France. In 1638, Latour's backers persuaded the government to name d'Aulnay and Latour joint governors in Acadia.

Such an arrangement, between two strong and opinionated men, was destined for failure from the start. It was not long before open hostilities broke out between the two governors. Latour expropriated one of d'Aulnay's ships and, in 1640, tried a surprise attack on Port Royal with two ships.

D'Aulnay was not surprised, however, and the attack was repulsed. When d'Aulnay reported these depredations to Paris, the court revoked Latour's commission and his trading rights. D'Aulnay was named governor and lieutenant-general, and was ordered to seize Latour and return him to France for trial.

Latour barricaded himself in his fort at Jemseg and defied d'Aulnay. In 1643, Latour went so far as to contract an alliance with the hated English and, with four ships and two armed frigates, he and his allies attacked Port Royal once more. Three men were killed, seven wounded and a quantity of livestock, a shipload of furs and all supplies of food and powder were taken away.

D'Aulnay decided to go to France and plead with the court for help. In a final judgment in March 1644, the French court branded Latour an outlaw. D'Aulnay then returned to Acadia with reinforcements and orders to drive Latour out. In 1645, he launched an attack against Latour's stronghold at Jemseg. Latour was absent, visiting his English allies in Boston, but the defense of the fort was carried on by Madame Latour.

After a three-day battle, d'Aulnay's forces captured the fort. Many of Latour's men were hanged as traitors. Madame Latour herself survived the fall of the fort by only three months.

Latour, learning of the fall of the fort in Boston, fled north to Canada, where he began a career as a pirate.

In 1647, the French crown transferred all of Latour's rights to d'Aulnay, and peace descended upon the little colony once more.

D'Aulnay was not destined to enjoy his triumphs for long, however. One of his chief projects was the building of dykes to keep sea water out of tidal marshes so as to convert them to arable farmlands. While visiting one of these operations upriver from Port Royal, d'Aulnay's canoe was swamped in a mud flat. Unable to escape from the mud, the governor died of exposure.

The death of d'Aulnay left his widow in financial straits and the colony in confusion. Back home in France d'Aulnay's creditors immediately began to call in their debts.

It was at this critical moment that the indefatigable Latour surfaced again. Sensing a prime opportunity at the death of his old enemy, Latour took a ship for France, to seek forgiveness of the crown. He used all of his old influence and his old friends and was so persuasive that King Louis XIV exonerated him for his acts of piracy and his rebellions against prior court orders. The king even made Latour governor of Acadia, as d'Aulnay's successor.

Armed with his new powers, Latour chose a merchant of Cherbourg, Philippe Mius d'Entremont, as his lieutenant, and sailed for Acadia.

On arrival, he presented his credentials to d'Aulnay's widow and demanded the return of his fort at Jemseg and all of the territory over which he had traded for furs.

The poor widow, powerless to resist, could only do as he asked. She was now left with only Port Royal and its immediate vicinity, and her creditors were powerful.

Once more Latour did the unexpected. The old rogue suddenly proposed marriage to the widow of his rival and married her on Feb. 24, 1563. He was 60 at the time. The former Madame d'Aulnay bore him several children.

His new marriage left Latour master of all Acadia except the fiefs held by Denys.

Troubles were only beginning for the colony, however. Emmanuel LeBorgne, d'Aulnay's old creditor, obtained a judgment against the d'Aulnay estate, and in 1652 sailed to Acadia to take demand judgment. LeBorgne, apparently an irascible fellow, seized two of Denys' posts, burned the settlement at La Heve and took possession of Port Royal while Latour and his new wife were at the fort at Jemseg on the other side of the Bay of Fundy.

While the Latours were planning to oust LeBorgne, war broke out between France and England, and an English fleet out of Boston sailed north to clear all the French out of Acadia. The English took Jemseg from Latour and Port Royal from LeBorgne.

Faced with this new disaster, Latour went to London to plead his cause with the new rulers of Acadia. There he succeeded in getting from the English permission to engage in the Acadian fur trade, in partnership with an heir of Sir William Alexander, the Scotsman who had previously tried to settle at Port Royal.

In 1656, Latour returned to Acadia, where he supervised his affairs until he died in 1666, at the age of 73. That left only Nicholas Denys among the leaders who had come out from France with Razilly. He was driven out of several of his posts by LeBorgne and went to France to seek judgment against his persecutor. Nothing came of this, and Denys finally died a poor man in 1688 at age 90.

Conditions in Acadia went from bad to worse until 1667, when the Treaty of Breda ended the war between France and England, and by its terms Acadia was restored to France.

While the vendetta between d'Aulnay and Latour for the control of the fur trade convulsed the infant colony of Acadia, and while the colony suffered during wars between French and English, those same years also saw the beginning of really permanent settlement in the colony.

Before the d'Aulnay period, the French who came to Acadia, save for the wife of a high official or two, were men only. They were contract workers, for the most part, who came out to work at the flaking sheds, or at the fur trade, or at tilling the company's fields to provide food for other laborers.

When their stint of labor had been completed, most of them returned to France, unless they were like the men of Latour, who became accustomed to the restless and dangerous life of the fur trade and ranged the forests with the Indians, becoming more savage than civilized.

By 1630, there were trading posts established - in addition to Port Royal - at Pentagouet, also in the Cape Sable area, and on the St. John River, and at Cape Breton. Scores of fishermen visited the Atlantic coves of Acadia every year, with wintering-over on the increase.

Any permanent settlement in a new land, however, needs the stability of family life, and d'Aulnay was one of the first to recognize this.

Under d'Aulnay's supervision, the first families were recruited to settle in Acadia. The governor spent a large part of his time as Razilly's lieutenant, and during his own term as governor, in recruiting colonists from the seigneuries owned by him and his mother in the region of Loudunais.

The colonists landed by Razilly at La Heve in 1632 evidently contained few women. When the colonists were moved to Port Royal from La Heve in 1635, they numbered only 30 or 40, indicating that most had returned to France after completing construction of the company's headquarters and other buildings.

Shortly thereafter, probably around 1636, the first families are recorded as being brought to Acadia. A number of them arrived that year, landing at Port Royal from the ship *Saint-Jean*.

Three of these «first families of Acadia» were those of Pierre Martin and Guillaume Trahan, both of Bourgueil, and Isaac Pesselin of Champagne. There were also the Bugaret and Blanchard families from La Rochelle.

Louis Morin, one of Razilly's officials, brought his wife and his daughter, Jeanne. The latter soon became Madame d'Aulnay.

Between 1636 and the death of d'Aulnay, a number of other families were settled in Acadia. Many familiar names are included in this group, who were among the first Europeans to find true homes in the New World.

Because of the irregular education of

many of those who made up the sailing lists and took the censuses, there are variations in spelling of these early family names. It was an era that gave no particular virtue to consistency in spelling, and sometimes the same family name might be rendered in two or even three different versions.

Among those families who arrived in Acadia during the early d'Aulnay period are the following:

Babin, Belliveau (Belliveaux), Bour (Bourg, Bourque), Breault (Breaux, Brot, Braud), Brun (LeBrun), Dugast (Dugas), Dupuis (Dupuy), Gaudet, Giroir (Girouard), Landry, LeBlanc, Morin, Poirier, Raumbaut, Savoie (Savoy), Thibodeau (Thibodeaux).

According to Genevieve Massignon, who has attempted to trace the Acadians to their place of origin in France, all of these families were recruited from La Chaussé, near the village of d'Aulnay.

Others from the same region, according to Miss Massignon's research, were the Blanchard, Guerin and Terriot (Theriault, Theriot) families.

Arriving in Acadia during the latter part of d'Aulnay's administration were the following families:

Bergeron, Caouette (Caillouette, Cayouette), Clemenceau, Comeau (Comeaux), Corporon, d'Aigle (Daigle, Daigre), Doucet, Carceau, Gautreau (Gauthreaux), Godin (Gaudin), Gousman, Guilbault (Guilbeau), Hebert, Henry, Lannoue (Lanneau, Lanoux), Lejeune, Pellerin, Pichet, Picot, Poirier, Richard, Rimbault, Robichaud (Robicheaux), Simon, Sire (Cyr), Thebault (Thibault) and Vincent.

Charles Latour also brought a few settlers to his outposts in Acadia, principally to the fort at Jemseg. The first Bernard was André Bernard, a stonemason from Beauvoir-sur-Mer, who arrived in 1641. The family of Mius d'Entremont, Latour's lieutenant, arrived in another Latour expedition.

Some of the most popular Acadian names are not French in origin. According to some authorities, when Sir William Alexander's group of Scottish settlers were repatriated to England, a few of them remained to live among the French.

Among them were Charles and Peter Mellanson. They married French wives, and in time their descendants were named Melançon. Two others were named Peters and Paisley. These names, in turn, became Pitre and Pellesey (Pelleset).

Roger Casey, an Irishman in French service, was captured by the English, wound up in Acadia and started the Kuessy family tree. Michael Forest arrived in Acadia during the English occupation after 1654, and remained to become progenitor of the Acadian family named Foret.

Jacques Bourgeois, d'Aulnay's surgeon, is mentioned as arriving in 1640. One Michel Boudrot (Boudreau, Boudreaux), who came to Acadia in 1642 as lieutenant general and judge at Port Royal, was the originator of a large and widespread Acadian clan.

A number of fishermen brought over by Denys to work at his posts along the Atlantic Coast also settled down to become Acadian patriarchs. One of these was Robert Cormier, who settled in the Annapolis River basin after working out his contracts with Denys.

The English occupation of 1654, of course, discouraged further immigration from France, and many of the French already in Acadia returned to the homeland.

Most of them remained, however, both because they were attached to their homes and also because Colbert, French prime minister, foresaw the return of the colony to France when peace was achieved. He ordered the settlers to remain, therefore, rather than to return to France, or to go to Canada.

The Treaty of Breda, signed in 1667, returned Acadia to the control of France, but it was not until 1670 that the French sent out a governor to take control of the colony. By this time, Colbert had assumed power in France as King Louis XIV's chief minister, and he saw a real potential in Acadia.

He set up Acadia as a crown colony, therefore, and removed it from the control of the fur traders. He named Hubert d'Andigny, Chevalier de Grandfontaine, as governor of the new crown colony.

Grandfontaine was already living in Canada and had been a companion of Tracy in that officer's expeditions to the West Indies and at Quebec. By the terms of his appointment, however, Grandfontaine was placed under the guidance of the governor of Canada, who was designated his immediate superior.

On Aug. 6, 1670, Grandfontaine set up a camp at what is now Penobscot, Maine, and sent his lieutenant, Joybert de Soulanges, to take possession of the fort at Jemseg. Grandfontaine moved on to Port Royal on Sept. 2, being accompanied by several officers of the Carignan regiment of the French army, then stationed in Canada.

One of Grandfontaine's first acts as governor was to take a census of the colony, and the census of 1671 has become the most famous record of the «first families of Acadia.» It has been widely reprinted in various accounts of Acadian history during the past 50 years.

In 1671, Port Royal, Cape Sable and La Heve were inhabited by several families of Acadian settlers. There were fishing outposts at Miramichi, Nipisiquit and Chedabouctou, under the control of the Denys family. The family of Mius d'Entremont occupied Pobomcoup and Pentagoet. The forts at Jemseg and Passamaquoddy were manned by garrisons.

The census of 1671 revealed that there were 61 heads of families in Acadia, as well as four widows with children. There were also a number of roving trappers and fisher folk, plus *coureurs de bois* who lived with the Indians, and colonial officials in various stations whose presence was not reflected in the official census.

Here is a list of the heads of families, with ages, for whom occupations were supplied in the census of 1671:

Jacob Bourgeois, druggist, 50; Jacques Belou, cooper, 30; Antoine Hebert, cooper, 50; Mathieu Martin, weaver, 35; Pierre Sire, gunsmith, 27; Pierre Doucet, bricklayer, 50; Pierre Commeaux, cooper, 75; Jean Pitre, edged tool maker, 35; Clement Bertrand, carpenter, 50; Thomas Cormier, carpenter, 35; Abraham Dugast, gunsmith, 55; and Pierre Melançon, tailor, age not given.

Other heads of families were presumably farmers. The alphabetical list, with ages:

Antoine Babin, 45; Antoine Belliveau, 50; Martin Blanchard, 24; Jean Blanchard, 60; Michel Boudrot, 71; Jean Bourc, 26; Antoine Bourc, 62; Bernard Bourg, 24; Charles Bourgeois, 25; Vincent Brot, 40; Vincent Brun, 60; Etienne Commeaux, 21; Jehan Corporon, 25; Olivier Daigre, 28; Germain Doucet, 30; Michel Dupuis, 37; Michel de Foret, 33; Jean Gaudet, 96; Denis Gaudet, 46; François Gauterot, 58; François Girouard, 50; Jacob Girouard, 23.

Also, Antoine Gougeon, 45; Laurent Granger, 34; Pierre Guillehaut, 32; Roger Kuessy, 25; Jean Labatte, 33; Pierre Lanaux, age not given; René Landry, 53; Daniel LeBlanc, 45; Pierre Martin, 40; Barnabé Martin, 35; Pierre Martin, 70; Charles Melançon, 28; Pierre Morin, 37; François Pelerin, 35; Claude Petit Pas, 45; Michel Poirier, 20.

Also, Michel Richard, 41; René Rimbaut, 55; Etienne Robichaud, no age given; François Savoye, 50; Claude Terriau, 34; Germain Terriau, 25; Jean Terriau, 70; Pierre Thibeaudeau, 40; Guillaume Trahan, 60; and Pierre Vincent, 40.

The four widows were the widows of Etienne Hebert, François Aucoin, Jacques Joffrian and Savimine Courpon. All had small children.

The census-taker reported that tailor Pierre Melançon had refused to answer his questions, but that he had a wife and seven children. He also reported that Etienne Robichaud did not want to give an account of his lands and cattle, and that Pierre Lannaux sent word that he was «feeling fine, but did not want to give his age.»

Unfortunately for future historians and genealogists, the census-taker did not include the settlers at Cape Sable (estimated at 25 persons), Les Côtes de l'Est (estimated at 16), as well as those living at La Heve, Pentagoet and the fort at Jemseg.

From the census and other records it is possible to reconstruct a picture of the colony of Acadia during this period, which marked the beginning of prosperity for the Acadian pioneers.

At the time of the census the population had grown to nearly 400 persons. The settlers at Port Royal had 425 cattle, about the same number of sheep, pigs, and horses, and the habitants were cultivating 400 arpents of land, not counting the natural grazing meadows.

The population at Port Royal, therefore, had already sunk deep roots in the land. Some of the heads of families were the third generation to live in Acadia. They had gained valuable experience in farming the country.

The substitution of a royal governor for the colonial proprietors who had been interested chiefly in fishing and furs meant that the needs of the colonists themselves would be given a higher priority back home in France.

Indeed, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Louis XIV's new minister, had placed the development of New France high on his list of needed accomplishments, and he sought to give the colonists as much aid as possible from the mother country, as well as sending out additional colonists to strengthen Acadia against the repeated incursions of the English.

Still, the original families continued to dominate the colony. The Acadians had developed into an American type - long-lived, frugal, and adapted to the land. They had large families, and they sent their sons out to clear new land for themselves.

Authorities have concluded that three-fourths of all the Acadians living today, either in Louisiana or Canada, or Nova Scotia or Europe are descended from the families listed in the census of 1671.

The colonists of French Acadia enjoyed the most prosperous era in their history during the 30-odd years between 1671 and 1710, despite repeated raids of English freebooters, who continued to descend upon the colony from time to time, burning, looting, and murdering.

It was a time of growth and expansion. There was a significant fusion of new blood from France in the form of artisans, soldiers, and colonists. In addition, from time to time marriageable girls came to Acadia, seeking husbands and a place for themselves in New France.

New settlements began to spring up throughout the peninsula. In 1762, Jacques Bourgeois, one of the more prosperous inhabitants of Port Royal, began to develop a settlement on one of the extensions of the Bay of Fundy known today as Cumberland Basin. The Indians called the area Chignectou.

Bourgeois had arrived in Acadia as a surgeon in 1640 under d'Aulnay's regime. He traded with the Indians in the Cumberland Basin region, where he decided to lay out farms for his two sons and three sons-in-law. Thomas Cormier, one of Bourgeois' sons-in-law, became the most well-to-do member of the new settlement.

In 1676, Michel LeNeuf de la Vallière, a Canadian from Trois Rivières, was given a grant of all the land in the Cumberland Basin except those farms of the Bourgeois family already laid out. Vallière called the area Beaubasin.

In 1680, the first farms were cleared in the Grand Pré region in the Basin des Minas area by Pierre Melançon of Port Royal. Two years later he was joined by Pierre Terriot, and other settlers began to flock in.

In 1689, Mathieu Martin of Port Royal, often called «the first Frenchman born in Acadia», was granted a parcel of land near present-day Truro. In the same year, other Acadians received land grants in the area north of Port Royal in the vicinity of the Petitcoudiac and Memramcock rivers.

Meanwhile, new settlers were arriving, both from France and from Canada. Soldiers from the Carignan Regiment, which had been shipped to Canada to fight the Iroquois, began to settle in Acadia after their terms of service. They bore such names as Leger, Lort and LaMontagne.

In the spring of 1671, the ship *l'Oranger* from LaRochelle brought out about 50 colonists recruited by Colbert. These names were noted among the newcomers: Amirault, Arcenault (Arceneaux), Barriault (Barilleaux, Barrois), Benoit, Brossard (Broussard), Doiron, Giraut (Girault, Girard) and Levron.

Colbert continued his efforts to recruit new blood for the colony, seeking to strengthen it as a barrier against the English. Between 1671 and 1686, several new family names appear in Acadian history, their owners having arrived either from Canada or France. Among them: Chaisson (Giasson), d'Amours, Dubreuil, Gourdeau, Hache (Ache), Henry, Labauve, Lapierre, Lambert, Leprince (Prince), Mercier, Mignault, Mirande, Pelletier, Pinet, Porlier, and Rivet.

During the decade following 1686, names of new arrivals appearing in Acadia included: Bonneive, Blondin, Boucher, Boutin, Boisseau, Brasseau, Cellier, Champagne, Darois (DaRoy), Heon, Herpin, Lalande, Langlois, Lavergne, Mouton, Naquin, Nuirat, Olivier, Oudy (Audy), Poitevin (Potvin), Poitier (Poithier), Savary, Suret (Surrette), Tillard, Toussaint and Vignault (Venoit, Vegneaux, Vignaud).

During the last years of French control of the colony, still more newcomers were arriving in Acadia seeking lands for farms and opportunities to make their fortunes.

Among the last arrivals in French Acadia were: Allard, Allain, Barnabe, Beaumont, Babineau (Babineaux), Bideau, Cadet, Crosse, Clemenceau, Chauvert, Carre de Vaux, Dubois, Denis, Donat, Dumont, Darbone, Emmanuel, l'Espérance, Guerin, Jasmin, LaBasque, LaBreton, Lounais, Lafont, LaMarquis, LaMaistre, Lessoil, Laliberté, Laurier, Lanquepee.

Also, Moipe (Moïse), Maurice, Maillard, Marceau, Maissonat, Parisien, Raymond, Roy, Rosette, Saint-Scene, Samson, Simon, de Saulnier, Thibeau, Veco, Voyer, Villatte, Yvon.

The late Dudley J. LeBlanc of Abbeville, who was an assiduous collector of Acadian lore, reported that his researchers had uncovered a number of other names in Acadia during the decade just prior to the English takeover.

Among these were Baptiste, Baudion (Beaudion), Barrios, Bonin, Bonvillian, Beaulieu, Beauregard, Berthelot, Cailler, Celestin, Coussan, Druce, Dupont, Durocher, Estevin, Gilbert, Guidry, Lacroix, Leonard, Monnier, Mordvant, Picard, Primeau, St. Martin and Thibaud.

In 1714, a census taken at Grand Pré revealed the following new names in Acadia: Aubin, Bellefontaine, Blou, Bastarche, Cochu, Desorcis, Fardel, Godin, Gareau, Levron, Laroche, LaBarre, Lalloue, Lavellee, Lagosse, Michel, Martel, Poulet, Prejean and Tourangeau.

As the population of Acadia expanded through the arrival of colonists and the growth to maturity of the children of the older settlers, more farm land was needed and more settlements were founded. Two colonies sprang up on the Petitcoudiac River in 1698. Chipoudy was founded by Pierre Thobodeau, who had come to Acadia with Emmanuel LaBorgne. Guillaume Blanchard also founded a settlement there which he named for the river upon which it was based.

Alexandre Brossard and his brother, Joseph, settled on Boudary Creek around 1740. Joseph was later to become a legendary figure in Louisiana.

By 1710, it was estimated that the population of Acadia from the St. John River to Cape Breton had increased to some 2,500 persons, a handsome increase from the 400-odd counted in the famous census of 1671.

By 1755, when the expulsion of the Acadians was begun by the English, it was estimated that the population numbered between 7,000 and 8,000.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Acadians had adapted themselves to the New World and had learned to make full use of the country's gifts. They became adept at farming, livestock breeding, hunting, lumbering and fishing.

During the long winters they spun cloth, using either wool or flax, tanned their own leather and made their own soap and candles and fashioned their own furniture and wooden tools.

In the spring, they made maple syrup and spruce beer, of which they grew quite fond.

They were still, however, dependent upon foreign sources for metal, guns and ammunition, salt, some wearing apparel and the trinkets they used for trade with the Indians.

Hunting and fishing, the building of boats, and small vessels, and the fur trade occupied some Acadian families, but for the vast majority the major occupation was farming.

Early in their stay in the New World, the Acadians learned to build dykes across the mouths of rivers that flowed through lowland marshes, thus clearing the land for cultivation.

The major crops were wheat and peas, Acadian standbys even into the nineteenth century. Oats, barley and rye were also grown, along with cabbages and a large variety of garden vegetables. Apples and cherries were also plentiful.

Livestock of all kinds were kept, but cattle were the most numerous. Horses were few, indicating an infrequent use of plows and poor roads. Most of the land was hand-cultivated, and the Acadians traveled by water whenever possible.

During the winter months, of course, the time was occupied by household carpentry, spinning, weaving, tanning, cobbling, the salting and smoking of meat, and the endless household chores that were the lot of women in a frontier economy.

As the population increased, so did Acadian trade with Canada, the French West Indies and France. Timber, furs, fish and flour were exported in return for manufactured goods, metals, implements, guns and ammunition that the Acadians needed. There was also an illegal, and therefore clandestine, trade with New England for some of these necessities.

Thus, after three or four generations, the Acadians had succeeded in carving out for themselves a comfortable, if not luxurious, life in the New World. They tilled their dyked fields and built their cabins on the slopes between the sea and the forests. Parents worked with their sons and sons-in-law, and daughters banded together and worked as teams.

Married sons of the same family often lived in their father's house, or nearby, and respected the father's authority. The Acadians' deference to and respect for their elders, according to contemporary accounts, seem without modern parallel.

They built churches, schools and homes and grew to love the soil upon which they toiled.

They were hospitable and cheerful and were happiest when gathered together to celebrate the rituals and the melodies of the great liturgical occasions.

Their chief weakness, it was said, was a love of gossip and a certain amount of personal vanity. Yet, according to Subercase, the last French governor of Acadia, «The more I consider these people, the more I believe they are the happiest people in the world.»

Now, with the Acadians prospering in Acadia, it is time to retrace our steps, and to follow the fortunes of other French pioneers who planted the *fleur de lis* on the rocky shores of Canada.

Exploring the Continent

While some groups of French merchants were attempting to settle in Acadia, others were attempting to exploit the fur trade of the northern wilds by forging settlements and trading posts on the St. Lawrence River.

After his experiences in Acadia, Champlain once more turned his attention to the St. Lawrence. Champlain returned to France from his explorations in Acadia in 1607, and immediately sought out the Sieur de Monts with a proposal that further explorations be carried out in the North.

At first, de Monts was not interested, but later he was able to obtain from the crown a monopoly of the fur trade on the St. Lawrence River for a year, and in April of 1608, he dispatched an expedition of two ships to the St. Lawrence to explore and to open up the fur trade.

The two ships, *Don de Dieu*, captained by Henri Couillard, and *Levrier*, captained by Nicholas Marion, set sail on April 5 for Tadousac, an Indian village and trading post on the St. Lawrence. At one time, the Portuguese had set up a whaling station there.

Champlain and another Acadian veteran, the Sieur de Pont (called Pontgrave), were in charge of this expedition. The expedition arrived at Tadousac without difficulty, and Champlain set off to select a suitable place at which to plan a trading post. It should be near enough to the sea for easy access from France and also near the northward-flowing tributaries of the St. Lawrence so that furs from the interior might be brought down by canoe.

Sailing upriver from Tadousac on the last day of June, Champlain decided to plant his post at a spot where a point of land jutted out into the river, narrowing the channel. Overhead high bluffs towered. Arriving at this spot on July 3, Champlain set his party to felling trees to build a stockade and cabins.

He wrote to his superiors in France: «Where I searched for a place suitable for our settlement, I could find none more convenient or better suited than the point of Québec, so called by the Indians because it is covered with nut trees.»

After the construction of the post, Pontgrave sailed back to France for the winter, leaving Champlain with 27 men to man the post. Among those who remained with Champlain were Nicholas Marsolet, Etienne Brule, a doctor named Bonnerme, Jean Duval, and Antoine Natel, a locksmith.

The winter was a hard one, and scurvy and dysentery claimed many victims. Natel died during the last of November, and some time after that the doctor, Bonnerme, also succumbed. There were 18 others attacked by scurvy, of whom 10 died. Five others were claimed by dysentery.

When the spring arrived, only eight of the 27 men were living, and Champlain himself was seriously ill. The French had not yet learned the need for fresh meat and had attempted to sustain themselves through the winter on ship's biscuit and salted meat.

With the arrival of spring came Claude Godet, Sieur de Marets, who was the son-in-law of Pontgrave. De Marets reported that Pontgrave was in Tadousac. Champlain then went to Tadousac himself, where he was handed a letter from de Monts, which asked that Champlain return to France to report on the progress of the post at Québec and the progress of the fur trade.

Back in Québec in September, Champlain then met Pontgrave at Tadousac, and the two sailed to France to report to de Monts. The latter, meanwhile, had been unable to get his fur trading monopoly extended. Crown officials decided to permit any French subject who wished to engage in the fur trade.

De Monts, crestfallen at this, decided to withdraw from the venture since he saw no chance to make a profit under the changed conditions. De Monts' former partners, Collier and Legendre of Rouen, decided to continue the venture, and outfitted two ships at their own expense, which they placed under Pontgrave's command.

No provisions were made for Champlain to accompany this expedition, but he complained to de Monts, and the latter asked his partners to allow Champlain to sail with the expedition. This they agreed to, and in 1610, the new expedition sailed from Honfleur.

The tireless Champlain, who possessed the temperament of one of the great explorers, spent much of his time in the New World in exploring the many waterways that entered upon the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River.

In 1611, he led a small expedition up the St. Lawrence to the falls of the river, where he established the trading post that was to grow into Montreal. In 1613, he sought to find the fabled Northwest Passage by exploring the Ottawa River.

Throughout his career in New France, Champlain sought to strengthen the settlement at Québec, develop the fur trade in the St. Lawrence River Valley, and maintain good relations with all of the northern tribes so that their furs would be brought to the trading post there and at Montreal.

In 1628, when war broke out between the French and the English - again - the English sent a naval squadron commanded by Capt. David Kirke to oust the French from the St. Lawrence.

When the English squadron suddenly arrived at Québec, Champlain had only 18 men at the post. There was little to do but surrender, which Champlain did on August 9, 1629.

Because of the poor communications of those days, neither Champlain nor Kirke realized that a treaty of peace had been signed between their two countries the previous April.

When the French government received word of the capture of Québec, therefore, the return of the post was demanded. King Charles agreed, and Québec was turned over to France once more, although it was not until 1632 that the French were able to take possession of the post again.

Champlain once more was sent back to the New World. There were only a few settlers on hand to greet the veteran, now 66, when he landed once more at Québec. New houses were being built, along with a chapel, a convent and a school.

Champlain died on Christmas Day in

1635. Where he was buried has remained a mystery, but there is little doubt that without his skill and daring and his efficient administration the little colony at Québec would have experienced much harder times and Canada might not have remained French.

The white man in the New World has often been censured for involving the Indian tribes in Europe's fratricidal warfares, making them but pawns in the hands of the empire builders.

In retrospect, however, it would be more accurate to say that the Indians involved the white men in their own intertribal warfare, and thus helped to intensify economic rivalries between the French, English, Dutch, Spanish and other colonists and traders who came to the New World.

When Samuel de Champlain, for example, made his voyage to the St. Lawrence River Valley in 1603, the first request made of him by the Algonquin and Montagnais tribes whom he visited was that he help them in their wars. Being the diplomat that he was, Champlain promised to do so when the time was ripe.

On his second voyage to Canada, in 1608, the same demands were made. The French wished to trade for the Algonquin and Montagnais furs? Very well, they should have no qualms about helping their red brothers strike a hard blow against their traditional enemies to the south. Otherwise, there might be few furs for the French to carry back home.

It was unfortunate that the time and the place of France's colonial efforts (and those of England later) would land the colonists in the middle of a century-old Indian war of extreme bitterness.

The reason for this was the rise of the Long House, better known as the Iroquois Confederacy.

Archeologists believe that the various tribes and clans which became the Iroquois originated in the southern Mississippi Valley in the era of the mound-builders. About the beginning of the Christian era they began a long migration northward, and by the fourteenth century, seem to have established themselves in what is now New York state, west of the Hudson River.

There were five groups of these Indians, which the white men called tribes. The farthest east were the Keniengehagas or «flint people», called Mohawks, or «eaters of men», by their Algonquin enemies, indicating that they were - ceremonially, at least, - cannibals. Then came the Goyogouins, whom the English called Cayugas; the Onontagues, or Onondagas; the Onneyouts, or Oneidas; and the Tsonnontouans, called Senecas by the English.

Through most of their history, these tribes were engaged in blood feuds and wars. War was self-perpetuating, since every death had to be avenged, and it might be said that the Iroquois looked upon war as the natural vocation of man.

Some time after their arrival in New York, probably between 1475 and 1500, two prophets sprang up among them - Hiawatha, a Mohawk, and Degandawida, a Huron adopted by the Onondaga. They persuaded the five tribes to bury the hatchet, to halt their wars and blood feuds, and to live together in peace.

This did not mean they gave up their warlike pursuits. They simply directed them against tribes outside the confederacy. After their confederation, they called themselves Ongwanosioni, or «People of the Long House,» in honor of their elongated bark huts.

The Algonquins, who knew them too well from their long wars, called them Iriakhowi, or «true rattlesnakes».

The People of the Long House had a complex social system with a wide variety of taboos, a highly developed religion, and an extensive, unwritten «literature». An early, unknown contact with Christians had left them with a legend of a flood, the prophecy of a savior and a confessional, and a distinct understanding of the role of the unconscious and dreams.

They were also among the cruelest, most bloodthirsty and most ruthless of peoples.

Because they could concentrate armies of several hundred, up to perhaps 2,000 warriors, the Iroquois brought a new and more deadly dimension to forest warfare, which previously had been a matter of raids and counterraids of a score or a few dozen combatants.

The Iroquois soon drove all other tribes from their area west of the Hudson and carried on a steadily escalating war with the Algonquins, the Hurons and the Montagnais to the north and to the west.

The Iroquois and their enemies had been in a major war in the St. Lawrence Valley since before the start of the sixteenth century. It was this ancient war in which Champlain was asked to participate when he visited his Indian friends near Three Rivers in 1608. In 1609, a gathering of Huron, Algonquin and Montagnais warriors gathered at Québec and once more demanded that the French assist them in their wars. Champlain decided the politic thing to do was to accompany this force on its southern foray.

The party proceeded south, through Lake Champlain to Lake George, where they encountered an Iroquois force ready to fight. The fight opened, and arrows began to fly. Champlain was escorted to the front and fired his musket, which was loaded with four balls. Two of the Iroquois were killed and one was wounded, but the loud noise created more confusion among the Iroquois ranks. The Iroquois took flight and found shelter in the woods.

Some historians blame Champlain's participation in this raid for the subsequent hostility of the Iroquois to the French, but it seems far-fetched to believe that conditions would have been different had he not taken part.

The French were few in number, and they depended upon their Indian neighbors to maintain their lodgement at Québec. Hostile Indian neighbors would have made the early settlement untenable. Besides, as long as the French traded with the Hurons or the Algonquins or the Montagnais, who were the Iroquois' enemies, it seems far-fetched to believe that the Iroquois would ever have had a friendly feeling toward the French.

Even if the French had maintained the strictest neutrality, it seems impossible that they might have avoided a confrontation with the restless and expansionist Iroquois, who seemed determined to subdue all of the forest tribes to their fierce will.

At any rate, the presence of the Iroquois in western New York meant that the French colonization in that direction was blocked. This fact deflected French fur traders to the west, and eventually to the discovery of the Mississippi River and the planting of the French flag in what is now Louisiana.

During the years following the death of Champlain, events of major importance to the history of French America were taking place south of the St. Lawrence.

The Dutch, after «buying» Manhattan Island from a group of Indians who didn't own it, set up a series of trading posts along the Hudson River, hoping to gain a part of the fur trade for themselves.

It was not long before the men of the Iroquois Confederacy decided they would have this fur trade with the Dutch for their very own, and the native tribes in the lower New York regions were exterminated, or driven out.

The Iroquois quickly developed an appetite for European goods, especially for guns. In 1623, they traded more than 8,000 pelts to the Dutch, and by 1633 they were bringing in more than 30,000 pelts a year. Trade of such magnitude, of course, soon exhausted the supply of fur-bearing animals in Iroquois country.

The men of the confederacy, now dependent on European goods to maintain their improved standards of living, sought to obtain furs from the Algonquins and the Hurons, but these tribes were trading with the French. Thereupon, the Iroquois conceived a brilliant plan: having armed themselves with the white man's guns, they would take the warpath against the northern tribes.

Their aim was simply extermination - the first recorded instance of genocide in American history. The Iroquois reasoned that if the Hurons and the Algonquins, along with neighboring tribes, were eliminated, the Long House could control the fur trade of the whole Great Lakes-St. Lawrence region. Then they could direct the flow of furs to the French or the Dutch, as they pleased.

As early as 1633 a war party of the Long House attacked a party of Champlain's men on the St. Lawrence, killing two and wounding four others.

The French retaliated by extending their forts and posts farther up the river, and by sending missionaries to attempt to convert the native tribes. In 1634, a fort was built at Trois Rivières, at the juncture of the St. Lawrence and the St. Maurice rivers, one of the main river routes to the North.

In 1638, Jean Nicolet, an agent of the Company of New France, which was the commercial firm that «owned» the colony, penetrated the wilderness to Lake Michigan, then down Green Bay to the Fox River to establish trade relations with the Winnebagos, and to make peace between them and the Hurons. This opened up a vast new territory to the French fur trade.

Religious societies also played a major role in the expansion of the colony, both by supplying manpower and by supplying funds. In 1630, the Duc de Vandadour, then viceroy of New France, organized the *Compagnie de St. Sacrement* to promote missionary activities among the Indians.

This society, made up of men of great piety, wealth and influence in France, gave its support in 1640 to attempt to found a settlement at Montreal for the purpose of converting the neighboring Indians to Christianity.

Thus, Montreal can lay claim to being the only great metropolis in North America founded for purely religious purposes.

Some 50 devout colonists, therefore, established Ville Marie de Montreal, under the command of Paul de Chomeday, Sieur de Maisonneuve, a 33-year-old army veteran whose piety had greatly impressed the members of the founding society.

Thus was the flag of France pushed to the juncture of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers. Although the new post was ideally situated for the missionaries to gain access to the Indian tribes, it soon proved to be commercially important, too.

The Ottawa River was the principal route by which the Algonquins and the Hurons brought their furs to the French. A trading post at Montreal would save them the long paddle to Trois Rivières of Québec, and possible ambush by the Iroquois along the way. It was not long, therefore, before trading facilities were established at Montreal, much to the dismay of the pious founders.

Since the settlement was made on territory claimed by the Iroquois, it is surprising that the small company was not attacked. The Iroquois overlooked the new colony, though, since their war parties were concentrated against the Hurons along Georgian Bay and the Ottawa.

Individual Frenchmen, too, were not slow to venture into the wilds themselves, to meet tribesmen on the way to Québec or Trois Rivières or Montreal, and to short-circuit the official trading posts. The natives would as soon trade with an individual in the forests as at a trading post, especially if he were thereby saved a long journey.

This tendency gave rise to the *coureur de bois*, a sort of backwoodsman who came to be the despair of French officialdom. They were a wild, unruly lot, and made themselves more obnoxious by trading whiskey to the Indians.

The prototype of this sort of backwoodsman was Etienne Brule, who came to Canada as Champlain's servant. He found an affinity for the forests, and soon deserted Québec settlement. Thereafter, when he came to Québec, he was always in Indian attire. He was said to be unusually strong, and was quick to learn Indian ways and Indian languages.

By 1680, authorities at Québec estimated that between 800 and 1,000 Frenchmen were off in the forests illegally, seeking furs from the natives.

The life of the *coureur de bois* was not one for weaklings. It was hard and exacting. He was called upon to crouch in a narrow canoe and paddle hour after hour from dawn to dark, at 45 to 50 strokes per minute. For more than 1,000 miles the *coureurs* traveled thus, pulling their canoes through small rapids by ropes as they waded up to the waist in some swift and uncharted river, or carrying canoes and cargo on their shoulders to portage around great rapids.

The advent of the *coureurs de bois* marked a new tack in French relations with the Indians and began a headlong race between missionaries and traders to see if the former could convert the tribes to civilized ways before the traders destroyed them with whiskey and European diseases.

French efforts to convert the Indian tribes to Christianity date from the beginnings of the colony at Québec. On his third voyage, Champlain brought with him four

Franciscans of the Strict Observance, commonly known as Recollets.

They were Fathers Joseph le Caron, Jean d'Obleau, Denis Jamay and Pacifique du Plessis. The bishops of Paris subscribed a sum of 1,500 livres to cover the expenses of the mission, since the Recollets were a mendicant order, depending upon charity for their daily bread and the patched grey robes they wore.

The first Mass ever heard in Canada was celebrated by du Plessis. The four friars cut the trees, hewed the logs and carved the stone for their mission, a log building, surrounded by a palisade.

The vast program of converting thousands of savages, however, was beyond the resources of the Recollets, and in 1626 five members of the Society of Jesus were sent out to help them. Three were priests - Charles Lalemant, Jean de Brebeuf and Enemond Masse. Two were brothers of the order - François Chartond and Gilbert Burel. Father Lalemant was appointed director of the Jesuit missionary effort.

The Recollets left the colony when it was captured by the English in 1629 and did not return when Québec was restored to France by the Treaty of 1632. Thus, the Jesuits were left alone in the mission field.

Their numbers were considerably increased after 1632, principally due to the financial backing by pious members of the French court. They established missions among the Montagnais on the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, another at Miscou at the mouth of the Baie de Chaleur, and a third on Cape Breton.

In 1634, the Jesuits expanded their missionary efforts into the land of the Hurons east of Georgian Bay. Missions were established in the Huron villages of Ihonatiria and Ossossane, and in 1639 a third was established at the mouth of the Wye River. It was called Ste Marie.

Ste Marie consisted of a chapel, hospital, mill, stables, barns, a residence for the priests and another for lay workers, all surrounded by a log palisade. As many as 35 Frenchmen resided there from time to time - priests, lay brothers, agricultural workers, a surgeon, a druggist, a carpenter, and other artisans.

The priests were seldom in residence, spending most of their time serving missions in outlying villages, or traveling by canoe to the distant Petun tribe, called the «Tobacco Nation» by the French, to the «Neutral» tribes to the southwest and to the Algonquins farther north.

These outposts, separated from the settlements on the St. Lawrence by thousands of miles, formed tiny islands of Baroque civilization in a Stone Age ocean.

The life of the missionaries was hard and demanding. Indian food was hard on European stomachs, and some of the Indian customs were revolting. The Indians existed on two meals a day, composed of corn ground between two stones and boiled into a mush. Mixed in with it were any dirt or insects which might have happened to be on the stones. If fish or birds were caught, they were thrown into the pot without being cleaned.

If a war party returning home with prisoners ran short of food, one of the captives was knocked in the head, butchered, and his flesh added to the community kettle.

Village life was not much better.

Men, women, children and dogs with their fleas all crowded into the huts, winter and summer. There was little room to move, and in the center a fire filled the cramped space with smoke.

The difficulties of mastering Indian languages and dialects and of finding some way to communicate the rudiments of Christianity to these savages complicated the missionaries' task further.

Despite all of the difficulties, the Hurons offered the missionaries their best opportunity to make significant progress in Christianizing the savages. They were a relatively non-migratory people, they practiced the rudiments of agriculture, and their villages were concentrated into a relatively compact area.

There were some 15,000 to 20,000 of them when French traders first made contact with them. The Hurons welcomed the missionaries among them and willingly listened to their sermons.

Many of them responded readily to Christian teachings, and baptisms were frequent. By the late 1640's, several thousand Hurons had accepted baptism. Hope was high in the minds of the missionaries that the entire nation might eventually accept the faith.

The French also attempted to send missionaries to the Iroquois, but these attempts met with anything but success. The Rev. Isaac Jogues, for example, was captured and tortured by Iroquois in 1643 as he and two lay brothers and 17 Huron converts were paddling up the St. Lawrence River. The party was ambushed by 70 Iroquois. Most of the Hurons were killed and the three Frenchmen were captured. Father Jogues and his companions were stripped of their clothing and had their fingernails pulled out. Jogues was beaten senseless with war clubs. The three were forced to run the gauntlet and were beaten by Iroquois braves until they were drenched with blood and half dead. The Frenchmen got no sleep at night because the younger warriors pulled out their hair and beards. The village children amused themselves by placing live coals and red hot ashes on the bodies of the prisoners. The priest finally escaped and found refuge with the Dutch at Oswego, from whence he was able to return to France. One of the lay brothers also escaped, while the other gained the respect of a Mohawk brave and was adopted into the tribe.

Jogues was received with jubilation at Jesuit headquarters in Paris, and his reports were listened to eagerly. As for Jogues himself, he was already making plans to return to the Iroquois country and set up a mission post in their midst.

Throughout 1643 and 1644, the border warfare between the Iroquois and the Hurons, the Algonquins and the French continued. Losses were heavy on both sides, and neither gained an advantage.

In 1645, the Iroquois decided to ask for peace, and sent delegates to meet the French and their allies at Trois Rivières and bury the hatchet. Thus, the frontier had a short respite.

In 1645, too, the Rev. Isaac Jogues was back in Canada, and with the advent of peace was making plans for the foundation of a mission to the Iroquois, which he called «The Mission of the Martyrs.»

In the middle of May he departed from Trois Rivières with an Algonquin escort, traveled to Fort Orange on the

Hudson, where they were entertained by Dutch traders, and then departed for the Iroquois country.

Soon after the departure, the escort deserted, leaving Jogues and a lay brother, known to us only as Lalande. Soon, they were ambushed and captured by a Mohawk band and carried in triumph to the nearest Mohawk village.

Here crowds surrounded them, beating them savagely. A Mohawk cut strips of flesh from Jogues' back and legs, saying as he did so, «Let us see if this is the flesh of a great wizard.»

In the evening, Jogues sat fainting from his wounds when he was summoned to the chief's hut. As he bent to enter, a Mohawk struck him from behind, sinking a tomahawk into the missionary's brain. Jogues fell at the feet of his murderer, who finished the job of hacking off his head. The next morning, Lalande suffered a like fate.

Jogues' fate was learned by the French from the Dutch at Fort Orange, who learned it from the Iroquois themselves.

The French missions prospered in the Huron country, but in the 1630's, smallpox was introduced into the tribe by French traders. By the winter of 1645, more than half of the 15,000 Hurons had died from the disease.

No sooner had this plague abated than a new whirlwind struck. After three years of peace had recouped their forces, and after they had stocked up with guns from the Dutch, the Iroquois launched their blitzkrieg against the Hurons.

Without warning, the Iroquois columns debouched from the forests and attacked the Huron villages near St. Joseph Mission. Many of the Huron warriors were away on a hunt. Rushing the palisades at sunrise, the Iroquois soon hacked a path into the village. Within there was terror and panic at the first sound of the Long House war cries. The few warriors who tried to make a stand were shot down. Nor were the women and children spared. At the mission, the Rev. Antoine Daniel was celebrating Mass. He hurriedly baptized those he could before the Iroquois attacked the chapel.

Then, in his white alb and red stole, and carrying a cross in front of him, Father Daniel went to the entrance. He was shot down at the chapel door, and the Iroquois swarmed around him. His body was stripped, his head hacked off, and his body gashed.

The neighboring village was served in a similar manner. Of the 3,000 people living in the two villages, only a few escaped. Some 700 were taken as prisoners and were subjected to torture and death in the Iroquois towns.

Though the rest of the summer passed with only sporadic attacks by the Iroquois, the Hurons lived in constant fear of the future attacks which they knew would be coming.

The next blow fell on March 16 of 1649, a grim and bloody year. The ice had not yet broken up and snow was thick on the ground when the Iroquois suddenly struck at a Huron village called St. Ignace. They had scaled the wall before dawn, when most of the village was sleeping. The slaughter was the same as before. Then the Iroquois tide flowed to the small mission chapel of St. Louis, manned by 80 Hurons and two priests, the Rev. Jean de Brebeuf and the Rev. Gabriel Lalemant. The Iroquois, a thousand strong, soon swarmed over the walls and put the Hurons to death. The two priests busily attended the wounded. Unfortunately for them, they were not killed, but were captured and led away to torture.

The Iroquois stripped the two priests, tied them to a pole, tore out their fingernails and clubbed them all over their bodies. One of the Iroquois, who knew a smattering of French, told Brebeuf: «You say Baptism and suffering will lead to Paradise. You will go there soon, for I am going to baptise you.» Then he proceeded to pour boiling water over the priest three times. Red-hot tomahawks were applied to his armpits and stomach.

Through the torture, Brebeuf continued to preach to the Iroquois, urging them to forsake their paganism and accept Christianity. Not wanting to hear him speak, they cut out his tongue and cut off his lips. Then they stripped the flesh from his legs, roasted it and ate it. He was scalped and his heart was torn out, roasted and eaten. Some of the Indians drank his still-warm blood.

Father Lalemant was put through a similar ordeal.

The remains of the two priests were found a few days later by other missionaries and were brought to Québec for burial.

The two great raids by the Iroquois on the Huron villages terrorized the remaining villages. And even after the Iroquois armies had retired, the death toll among the Hurons continued to rise.

Some 15 outlying villages were deserted, and the refugees flocked to the French mission at Ste.Marie. More than 6,000 disconsolate Hurons huddled around the stone church. The missionaries did all they could to feed the multitude, but starvation threatened them all. The Hurons' food supplies had gone up in the smoke of their villages.

The Iroquois soon moved against Ste Marie, but here a Huron counterattack drove them off. The Iroquois army retired to St. Ignace, amused itself with burning its prisoners for a while, and then retired to Iroquois country, carrying a rich harvest of scalps and furs.

The Hurons' will to resist was by now broken, and there seemed nothing to do for the survivors but to flee. They simply could not stand against the Iroquois and their guns. Some sought refuge with the Neutral nation, others with the Petun, the Erie and the Ottawa.

By summer the Huron nation was no more. Only piles of ashes, charred human bones, and clearings in the forest where vast corn fields had once been planted remained to mark the existence of this once-powerful and populous tribe.

The destruction of the Hurons forced the French missionaries - and traders - to extend their efforts to tribes farther into the interior of the continent. Meanwhile, the Iroquois launched further wars against the Erie and the Neutral tribes, but permanent victory eluded them. They were operating too far from their base and lacked the sophisticated system of supply to keep them for long in enemy country.

In 1653, the Iroquois again sought peace with the French, convinced that the destruction of the Hurons would allow the Iroquois to take charge of the fur trade. Peace was agreed upon, and the Iroquois were free to trade with either the French or the Dutch.

Meanwhile, the French were setting up relations with more western tribes. French fur traders were voyaging to the western Great Lakes to trade with the «far Indians.» By 1656 many voyagers, including Pierre Esprit Radisson and Medart Chouart de Groseilliers, had established relations with far western tribes.

On these voyages they began to hear rumors of a great river that ran south to the Great Southern Sea, which in turn washed the shores of the Indies.

After being interrupted only a few years, the flow of furs once again began to reach Montreal and Trois Rivières. None of the furs came in Iroquois canoes, however, because the Ottawas of the Northwest had stepped in to take the place of the Hurons.

The Iroquois were furious. All of their long campaigns had gained them nothing. Once more they took to the warpath and began blockading the rivers leading into the St. Lawrence Valley, stopping the fur trade from the west once more.

When the settlers went out in the morning to tend their crops or livestock, they could never be sure of seeing their families again at the end of the day. In the field, behind any stump, tree, stone or hill, a Mohawk could conceal himself, waiting patiently for hours until the settler came within range of his gun or tomahawk.

War parties of 100 or more ravaged settlements from Montreal to Québec, destroying crops, burning homes and barns, and slaughtering stragglers.

Finally, in 1663, the authorities at Québec applied for aid from the French government at home. France, at the time under the able direction of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, had the most efficient government in Europe. Colbert had an important task for Canada, since he wanted it to supply the mother country with timber, ship masts and naval stores, as well as furs.

Colbert decided to revise the government of the colony. He canceled the charter of the commercial company that had ruled Canada and made it a crown colony. To make the colony more secure from the Iroquois, the Carignan Salières regiment of the French army was shipped to Québec, comprising nearly 1,100 men under veteran officers.

In the fall of 1666, the regiment, plus 400 Canadian militia, led by the newly appointed viceroy, Alexandre de Prouville, Sieur de Tracy, invaded the Mohawk country.

The Mohawks declined to fight and faded into the forest depths. The French burned their four villages, containing all their winter food supplies, and then marched back to Québec. No Mohawks were killed or captured, but the loss of food supplies was a severe blow. Also severe was the loss of huts, furs, canoes and other equipment that was extremely hard to replace.

In fact, it was a hard year for the Long House. A Mohawk and Onondaga war party had been almost annihilated by the Ottawas, and the Seneca and the Cayuga had been mauled by the Andastes. The Iroquois had spread themselves too thin in their wars of conquest. In addition, smallpox swept through the Long House villages, probably contracted during their wars against the Hurons. Faced with these disasters and expecting more French expeditions, the

Long House decided once more to sue for peace.

An Iroquois delegation appeared before Québec, and accepted the terms profferred by Viceroy Tracy. They agreed to halt their wars against the French and all of their Indian allies.

With peace in both Canada and Europe, the way was open for a further development of the colony and a serious colonization effort on the part of Colbert. The officers and men of the Carignan Salières regiment, who had been sent to Canada with the understanding that they would be returned to France after 18 months, were given every encouragement to remain as settlers.

Several officers and men - some 400 in number - agreed to remain, and were given land grants. It was an important reinforcement for the colony. In addition, peaceful conditions and improved administration enabled the French to concentrate upon extending their influence farther into the interior.

The fur trade was the mainstay of French Canada. From its revenues came the money to maintain the colony. It was the first business of the colony, therefore, to see that the fur trade flourished.

This meant, inevitably, that the French must penetrate farther and farther into the interior, since the trade on the scale it was being carried out soon exhausted the supply of wildlife in a given territory, forcing a westward expansion.

The westward expansion had other impulses, too. There were tales of copper mines in the interior and stories of the great river that perhaps flowed into the shores of the Great Sea by the cities of Cathay.

The Jesuits were in the forefront of the westward thrust. Father Claude Dablon conducted a mission at Ste Marie du Sault, in a square enclosure of cedar logs, with a hut and a chapel. At the other end of Lake Superior, another young Jesuit, the Rev. Jacques Marquette, had charge of the Mission de St. Esprit at La Pointe.

Thence came Louis Joliet, deputed by the authorities in Québec to hunt for copper mines. Another pioneer in westward explorations was Daniel Greysolon, Sieur du Lhut, whose main achievement was opening up the country west and south of Lake Superior.

In 1680, with a party of four Frenchmen and an Indian guide, he spied out the lay of the land around the Brule and St. Croix rivers. He established a trading post at the mouth of the St. Louis River, and in years to come this was to grow into the city of Duluth, named in his honor.

Now there appeared on the Canadian scene one of the chief actors in the great drama that would win for France an inland empire almost beyond measure. René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, was born at Rouen on November 21, 1648, or a noble and wealthy family.

In his early youth he resolved to join the Jesuit order and fit himself for the mission fields of the New World. He entered the Jesuit novitiate at the age of 15 and progressed far enough to win the title of «scholastic» and to be sent to teach in a Jesuit school at Alençon, being later transferred to Tours and then to Blois.

LaSalle was not successful as a teacher, being too impatient with his pupils.

In fact, he found the teaching profession a boring one, and was much too active in body and mind for the classroom.

Finally, LaSalle asked to be sent at once to take up his work in the missions, but it was judged that his spiritual training had not proceeded far enough. With this setback, LaSalle asked for his release from the order, and at the age of 24 his resignation was accepted.

Finding himself free, and with little to maintain him in France, LaSalle took a ship to Canada. He arrived during the summer of 1667 and joined an older brother, who was a member of the Sulpician Order, in Montreal.

The younger LaSalle won the friendship of the Sulpicians, and they made him a grant of land on Montreal Island, where they were attempting to develop a series of farms. This was a wide and valuable domain, and LaSalle immediately cut it into farms, and set about attracting tenants.

He cleared some of the land for himself, built a house on it, and still found time to study Indian languages. Almost from the beginning, however, LaSalle's mind was not upon his farm, but upon the Great West that lay beyond the view of French voyageurs.

One winter a group of Indians from the Seneca tribe camped on his land, and the tales they told were so interesting LaSalle invited them to spend the winter. They told him of the «Beautiful River», running due west, which was larger even than the St. Lawrence, and which finally emptied into the Vermilion Sea.

These exotic names fired LaSalle's imagination. The Vermilion Sea could only mean the warm seas of the Orient! LaSalle was determined to find this great river and follow it to its mouth. He informed the Sulpician Fathers, and found them sympathetic. They arranged to buy back all of his land except the plot he had laid out for himself. This gave him enough money to outfit an expedition, and he decided to join a mission that the Sulpicians were sending to the Shawnee Indians. The party of 14 set out in four canoes on July 6, 1669. They were retained a month at one of the Seneca villages, but then crossed the Niagara River, hearing the roar of the great falls in the distance.

By the end of September, they reached an Indian village at the site of what is now Hamilton, Ontario. Here LaSalle parted company with the Sulpicians and headed his canoes south. He was not heard from for two years.

Just where he went is a matter of debate, but he almost certainly reached the «Beautiful River», now called the Ohio. He followed it downstream to a waterfall, which he described as *fort haut*, and which blocked further progress. This was probably the falls above Louisville.

Meanwhile, the Jesuits, too, were making explorations into the interior. They knew that beyond Green Bay were regions where buffalo roamed by the thousands, and there were tribes who had never heard the Gospel. They also heard the stories of the great river that flowed into the South Sea and decided to send an expedition to find it.

For this purpose they chose Louis Joliet, who had already been exploring in the west looking for copper mines. To accompany the experienced Joliet, they chose one of their own number, the Rev. Jacques Marquette.

They set out for the west on May 17, 1672, in two canoes with five companions. En route they encountered many new and strange tribes - the Wild-Rice Indians, the Miamis, Mascoutins and Kickapoos.

Then one day, about a month after their start, they came to a place of unusual beauty, where the Wisconsin River, which they had been following, joined a new and wide stream which rolled majestically toward the south.

Their Indian guides assured them with gestures and much eloquent oratory that this was indeed the great Father of Waters, the Mechezebbet, which flowed for thousands of miles into the Great South Sea.

The Indians were awed by it, and urged the French to go no farther upon its broad surface. Huge monsters, that made a habit of eating men, besieged the southern reaches of the river, they said. This was probably the first mention that the French had of Louisiana alligators.

Marquette and Joliet were not to be dissuaded, however, and followed the great river south until they reached the mouth of the Arkansas. At that point they decided to turn back. They knew not how many more hundreds of miles the river flowed, but they were now sure that it flowed into the Gulf of Mexico, rather than the Vermilion or the Great South Sea.

Now the way was cleared for further French penetration of the interior, and LaSalle was on hand again to be the spearhead.

LaSalle and the Father of Waters

One of the staunchest of the supporters of the Sieur de LaSalle during his explorations of the western areas of New France was the new governor of the province.

Louis de Baude, Comte de Frontenac et Palluau, succeeded Remy de Couceile as governor and lieutenant general of New France, and arrived in Québec on Sept. 12, 1672.

He immediately set upon a policy of vigorous expansion of colonial activities, particularly in the realm of the fur trade. One of Frontenac's first projects was the erection of a French fort on Lake Ontario to hold the Iroquois in check and to intercept the fur trade that the western tribes were carrying on with the Dutch and English in New York.

Frontenac early made the acquaintance of LaSalle, and consulted with the young explorer and fur trader often. LaSalle was a student of the Iroquois and knew a great deal about the western country. He supplied the maps that convinced Frontenac that his fort should be built at Cataraqui, where Kingston, Ontario, now stands. It was to be called Ft. Frontenac.

The fort was built in 1673, and the experience brought Frontenac and LaSalle to develop grander plans for trade and discovery. LaSalle burned with an ambition to secure the western country, and sought the governor's backing in a scheme to construct forts along the great river that Marquette and Joliet had discovered, and to build a greater empire than Canada for the French crown.

The next year, LaSalle went to France to seek financial backing for this great venture, and carried with him a letter of introduction to Colbert, the French minister of state. LaSalle made favorable impressions upon Colbert and other ministers, as well as the king.

His project was adopted. He was granted a patent of nobility on condition that he rebuild Fort Frontenac with stone and maintain its garrison at his own expense. In 1675, LaSalle was back in New France, where he rebuilt the fort as he had been directed, planted grain fields, established a mission school and built ships with which to navigate Lake Ontario in pursuit of the fur trade.

In 1677, LaSalle returned to France to gain permission of the king to lead an expedition to explore the great western river to its mouth. Again his petition was acted upon favorably.

Since he had no finances of his own lavish enough for such an undertaking, LaSalle induced a number of merchants, relatives and officials to advance him sums of money to undertake the exploration.

On July 14, 1678, LaSalle sailed from La Rochelle with 32 men, a supply of stores and implements for building ships on the great lakes and the great river. He reached Québec two months later.

One of the men whose services he gained in Paris was destined to leave his name in history among the great explorers of the west. He was Henri di Tonti, an Italian by blood and a Frenchman by service.

There have been few more romantic spirits in American history. His exploits in the Mississippi Valley were the stuff of which legends are made. His indomitable energy overcame a weak physique. He endured privations that would have broken lesser men. He was at home in every environment, in the court of Louis XIV as easily as with the *coureurs de bois*, squaw men and renegades of the frontier.

He was the son of Lorenzo di Tonti, a banker who fled his native Naples after participating in an unsuccessful revolt. Lorenzo fled to France, where he became a financier and where he invented the form of lottery known as a *tontine*.

His son entered a French military academy, served four years as a midshipman at Marseilles and Toulon and made seven military campaigns - four in ships and three in galleys. While he was serving in Sicily, his right hand was blown off by a grenade. He was captured and held prisoner for six months. Later he was released in an exchange of prisoners.

He returned to France, where the king granted him a pension for his heroism. He replaced his lost hand with one of iron, and later on the American frontier this awed his Indian friends, who dubbed him «Iron Hand.» He was at Versailles when LaSalle came there, and they were introduced. LaSalle promptly enlisted Tonti's services for the expedition.

When LaSalle's expedition arrived at Fort Frontenac, the first task was to build a ship to sail the lakes. Tonti's experience was utilized and a sloop named *Le Griffon* was launched. On August 7, LaSalle and his men embarked, entered Lake Huron, weathered a terrible storm, and finally anchored at the Mission of St. Ignace, at the Straits of Mackinac.

Within a few days, LaSalle sailed into Green Bay, where he met some of his traders, and a huge store of pelts was taken aboard. On September 18, LaSalle sent the ship back to Niagara with the cargo that would help to pay off some of his creditors.

LaSalle then took 18 men and set off along the western and southern shores of Lake Michigan toward the mouth of the St. Joseph River. Tonti and 20 men were dispatched by land along the eastern shores for the same destination. LaSalle arrived at the St. Joseph first, and set about building a fort there.

Three weeks passed and neither the ship nor Tonti appeared. Tonti finally arrived toward the end of November, but there was no word of the ship. Tonti had only half of his men. His provisions had failed, and he had been forced to leave half of his men 30 leagues behind to sustain themselves by hunting while he pushed on. Finally, all arrived, and LaSalle decided to push on before ice closed all the streams.

The party of 34 ascended the St. Joseph in eight canoes that often had to be dragged through the shallow, boulder-strewn and icy current. Near the present site of South Bend, Ind., they made a portage to the Kankakee River, toiling through snow-mantled country and down narrow, twisting streams flowing through reedy and frozen marshes.

Finally they reached the point where the Kankakee and Des Plaines rivers join to form the Illinois. Gliding down the Illinois, past the tall cliffs of Starved Rock, they came to a large town of the Illinois Indians. The town was deserted, as the inhabitants were on a hunt, but on Christmas Day the French landed and took 30 bushels of maize from an underground storage basin for their provisions.

They pushed on through Peoria Lake. Just beyond they discovered an Indian village. They went ashore, and obtained more provisions when the Indians, members of the Illinois tribe, proved to be friendly.

Facing bitter winter weather that would make further exploration impossible, LaSalle decided to winter at the site. He built a small fort on a hill in what is now the suburbs of Peoria. He named it Fort Crevecoeur, after the Dutch stronghold that the French under Marshal Turenne had captured in July of 1672. Tonti had served as one of Turenne's officers in that engagement.

In March 1680, with spring near, LaSalle decided to go back to Canada to seek word of *Le Griffon* and to secure more supplies for his expedition to the Mississippi. Five men were to accompany him, and Tonti was left with the others in command of the fort.

When LaSalle set out in March of 1680 to return from the Illinois country to Canada, he faced a long and dangerous journey. LaSalle had five companions - four Frenchmen and one Mohegan hunter. They traveled in two canoes, and set out on the long journey back to the fort that LaSalle had built at the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

Winter still gripped the land, and they were forced to drag their canoes over ice and through swift currents. Often they paddled in a cold rain that froze the clothes to their skins. They endured hunger and fatigue and all the other privations of the wilderness.

Finally they arrived at the fort on the St. Joseph River, where LaSalle had left two men to await *Le Griffon*. They reported no news of the ship. There was nothing to do but go on to Niagara.

LaSalle left the canoes at the fort and

led his party across the St. Joseph River on a raft. Then, by foot, they crossed southern Michigan, forcing their way through dense woods, choked with brambles and underbrush, eluding Iroquois hunting parties that ranged the forests.

At last they came to a stream which they followed to Lake Erie. Here they built another raft, crossed the Detroit River, and then resumed their long march across the northern shore of Lake Erie, through torrents of rain and flooded woods.

After much suffering they finally came to the French fort at Niagara on Easter Monday. Here LaSalle received the depressing news that *Le Griffon* had never arrived on its voyage from the fort on the St. Joseph. Her fate is still unknown. He also learned that another cargo ship had sunk at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, carrying to the bottom a cargo valued at 22,000 livres which had been sent to him from France.

Disappointed, but not discouraged, LaSalle set out once more for Fort Frontenac, arriving there on May 6, after covering more than 1,000 miles in 65 days, much of it on foot.

His disappointments were not at an end, however. At Frontenac he found a letter from Tonti awaiting him. Tonti reported that the garrison at Fort Crevecoeur had mutinied, torn down the fort's palisade and fled into the forest after throwing into the river all the arms and ammunitions they could not carry. Tonti was left with five men, two of whom were missionaries.

LaSalle later learned that some of the mutineers were on the way to Fort Frontenac to murder him as the best way to escape punishment for their mutiny.

LaSalle sent out patrols, however, and when seven of the deserters appeared in two canoes, they were taken prisoner. The next day, the remainder were taken in the same way.

Undaunted by all of his ill fortune, LaSalle hurried his preparations to return to the Illinois country. He was fortunate in obtaining the services of François Daupin, Sieur de la Forest, with 25 men.

They traveled to Mackinac, where LaSalle left La Forest to gather stores and follow as soon as possible. With ten Frenchmen, two Indian hunters and a number of dogs, LaSalle pushed hurriedly onward. He reached the fort at the mouth of the St. Joseph and left five men there to await La Forest.

With the remaining men, he ascended the Kankakee and crossed to the site of the village of the Illinois. There they were greeted by sights of horror. The village had been burned and stakes thrust in the ground upon which were human skulls. Here and there crows and vultures tore the bodies of slain Illinois tribesmen, and wolves prowled through the village.

Cornfields had been burned or cut down. The ground was strewn with pots and kettles from the Illinois cellars, where they had kept their supplies and belongings. All of this was the work of the Iroquois who had invaded the Illinois country and wiped out the tribe.

There were no signs of Tonti and the few loyal men who had remained with him. One by one LaSalle and his men examined the ghastly corpses, fearing to find that each one was French. But they were all Indians.

The French huddled in the darkness that night, keeping watch should the grim foe strike again.

The next day, they paddled farther down river on the way to Fort Crevecoeur, passing ruined and deserted Illinois villages on the way. The fort was deserted and the surrounding country was a vast graveyard. Tied to stakes here and there were half-charred bodies of Illinois men, women and children. Day after day, they continued their search for Tonti and his men.

Beyond the junction of the Kankakee and Des Plaines rivers they stumbled across a cabin, where they saw a piece of wood that had recently been sawed. But they found nothing more.

It was now winter again, and LaSalle sadly turned his footsteps back to the fort on the St. Joseph. He left two men to guard the supplies and canoes and with the rest of the party set off on foot.

Snow fell for 19 days in succession, and the cold was so severe that LaSalle later wrote that he had never known a harder winter.

After much suffering, they arrived at the fort on the St. Joseph, where they found La Forest and the rest of the party, but no word from Tonti. LaSalle sought to throw off his despondency by making new plans. He sought to gain an alliance with a band of Abenaki and Mohican Indians who had been driven from New England by the Puritans.

He also set out on a winter journey to visit the unmolested villages of the Illinois, to seek their support in his objective of exploring and settling the valley of the great river.

The glare of the snow gave LaSalle and some of the others snowblindness, and the party had to halt, near a camp of Fox Indians. The Foxes said they had seen six white men traveling from a village of the Potawatomi toward Green Bay. The six men had kept themselves alive on elderberries and wild onions, LaSalle was told.

LaSalle was convinced this was a report of Tonti and his men and that while he had come down the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, they had gone north along the opposite shore.

As soon as LaSalle had regained his sight, he returned to the fort on the St. Joseph, and then hurried up Lake Michigan to Mackinac. There he was overjoyed to meet Tonti, who had arrived from Green Bay the previous day.

Tonti revealed that he and his men had been captured by the Iroquois and condemned to death. An Onondaga chief, however, had interceded for them, and they had been released with a leaky canoe. On the way back, one of the missionaries, saying his breviary during a stop on shore, was killed by a Kickapoo war party.

Their leaky canoe was soon wrecked, and they were forced to walk. Tonti came down with fever, and suffered from swollen legs, but they staggered on. They sought help from the Potawatomi, but found the village deserted, and found little food.

Having worn out their shoes, they covered their feet with parts of the surviving missionary's cloak. In this strait, they were discovered by a band of Ottawas, who escorted them to another Potawatomi village, where they spent the rest of the winter, and in the spring they went on to Mackinac.

These adventures illustrate the hardships and sufferings which explorers and pathfinders were forced to endure in opening up the west.

LaSalle was in a fever to make another attempt at exploring the Mississippi to its mouth, and hardly had he been reunited with Tonti than he began to plan his next expedition.

He was determined to streamline his operations and decided that the best course was to recruit a mixed group of French and Indians to make the long voyage to the south. He began to preach the need for a confederation of the Indian tribes who dwelt in the west. If they joined forces, they could defend themselves against the Iroquois.

He lobbied his ideas among the Miamis, Shawnees from the Ohio River Valley, Potawatamis from the west and Abenakis and Mohicans who had been exiled from New England by the English and the Iroquois.

The next step was to return to Québec and put the idea of another expedition before Gov. Frontenac. LaSalle's plan was to employ a hard core of the most trustworthy Frenchmen he could find, teaming them with Indians who were at home in the forest wilds.

To raise money for this new venture, LaSalle sold parts of his fur monopolies and borrowed from his family in France. Then he and Tonti, having recruited their expedition, set off for the Illinois country and the first stages of one of the most important ventures ever undertaken in the New World.

The expedition consisted of 23 Frenchmen and 18 Abenaki and Mohican Indians. As was their custom, the Indians brought along their wives and children. This made a large group, which some of the Frenchmen felt was too unwieldly.

LaSalle, however, knew what he was about. The Mohicans and the Abenakis were well-armed and expert in the use of their weapons. They were less likely to desert than the voyageurs, and they could be counted upon to do the bulk of the paddling, hunting and scouting.

The Indian women, LaSalle knew, would be expected to cook the food, do more than their fair share of portaging, do all the camp chores, live on scraps and free the Indians for the hunting and scouting.

On December 31, 1681, the expedition arrived at Fort Miami. After a pause there, they set out toward the south, walking on the surface of the frozen Illinois River.

For 120 miles they trudged along on the ice. Then the ice began to break up, and they took to the shore, reloading the canoes, and launching them into the ice-filled stream.

They paddled down the Illinois, through the leafless forests, and then on Feb. 6 the expedition issued upon the broad surface of the great river itself.

Who were these men who were destined to be the first Europeans of record to set foot in Louisiana? LaSalle's journals yield their names. In addition to LaSalle and Tonti, there were Father Zenobe, a Recollet friar; the Sieur de Boisrondet; Jacques Bourdon, Sieur d'Autray; Jean Michel, surgeon; Jacques de Meterie, notary; Pierre Prud'homme, armorer.

Also, Jacques Cochois, Anthoine

Bassard, Jean Masse, Pierre You, Colin Grevel, Jean de Lignon, André Henault, Gabriel Barbier, Pierre Mignaret, Nicolas de la Salle, André Boboeuf, Pierre Buret, Louis Baron, Jean Pignabel, and one individual merely designated as La Violette.

LaSalle's notary did not record the names of the Indians who made up such an important part of the expedition.

In relative comfort, the expedition paddled down the great river, uneventful day following uneventful day. One evening about dark they saw on their right the course of a great river and were awed at the rush of the muddy currrent of the Missouri entering the clear waters of the Mississippi. Later they passed the mouth of the Ohio, and on Feb. 24 camped on the heights of the Chickasaw Bluffs. They built a small stockade there, and LaSalle named it Fort Prud'homme.

Day after day they followed the river, until March 13 when in the midst of a thick fog, they heard on the right shore the booming of a war drum and the shrill whoops of Indians.

LaSalle ordered the canoes to keep near the far bank. Suddenly the fog lifted, and the Frenchmen saw an Indian town. The Indians were astonished at the sight of the white men, and after LaSalle displayed a peace pipe, the expedition landed at the town. They discovered it was a village of the Kappa (Quapaw) band of the Arkansas tribe, near the mouth of the Arkansas River.

After a feast and much celebration, the expedition set forth again, this time accompanied by two Kappa guides. They passed the mouth of the Arkansas, where Marquette and Joliet had turned back, and continued on past what is now Vickburg and Grand Gulf.

About 300 miles below the Arkansas, the expedition halted on the edge of a vast swamp on the western shore of the river. Here, their two guides told them, lay the path to the great city of the Tensas. LaSalle decided to send Tonti and Friar Zenobe to visit this tribe. Thus, the two were probably the first white men to set foot in Louisiana, since the village was located in what is now Tensas Parish.

Tonti and Friar Zenobe, accompanied by native paddlers, carried their canoe through the swamp and launched it on a lake which had once formed part of the channel of the great river. In two hours they reached the town, and were astounded at its extent.

The houses were square structures built of mud and straw, with dome-shaped roofs made of cane.

There were two larger structures, one being the lodge of the chief and the other the House of the Sun, a temple. Tonti paid his respects to their chief, who sat on what appeared to be a bedstead, with three of his wives attending him, and surrounded by his council of 60 old men, clad in white cloaks made of mulberry bark.

When the chief spoke, his wives howled to do him honor, Tonti said, and his council gave him due reverence. When a chief died, Tonti was told, 100 men were sacrificed.

The chief received Tonti graciously, and later visited LaSalle. He was preceeded by a master of ceremonies and six heralds, and when he arrived at the meeting place, he was clad in a white robe and accompanied by two men bearing fans and a third with a huge copper disc representing the Sun, thought by the Tensas to be their chief's elder brother.

The interview was friendly, and the French departed the next morning, going down river again, this time with Tensas guides.

After their visit with the Tensas, the French explorers continued down the Mississippi. Now LaSalle and his men had entered the realms of eternal spring. The hazy sunlight filtered through the warm and drowsy air, which came from the banks of the river laden with the scent of a thousand exotic blossoms.

They saw extensive swamps and green canebrakes on both sides of the river, filled with thousands upon thousands of wildfowl. They heard for the first time the fearful bellow of the alligator, and some of the hunters killed a couple of these huge beasts.

One morning they happened upon a wooden dugout full of Indians, and Tonti gave chase as the dugout withdrew rapidly. As the dugout neared the bank, more than 100 Indians armed with bows and arrows appeared out of the canebrakes. LaSalle hastily called to Tonti to withdraw.

Tonti volunteered to return to the bank with a peace pipe to open negotiations. The Indians received them with signs and friendship, whereupon LaSalle and the remainder of the expedition followed. They proceeded to the village, where they spent the night.

These were the Natchez Indians, whose great chief dwelled in a large town near the present site of Natchez, Miss., and LaSalle and his men traveled to meet the great chief. There they found a village and a tribal hierarchy much like they had found among the Tensas.

The next day, LaSalle began the descent of the Mississippi anew, and two leagues below the Natchez they visited the Koroas, where they found another hearty welcome from the red men.

On March 31, the expedition passed a village of the Houma Indians, and that night camped just below the junction of the Red River and the Mississippi.

Three days later they surprised a fleet of wooden canoes, fishing in the canes along the edge of the water. The Indians fled at the sight of the Frenchmen. LaSalle sent a party to reconnoiter, but as they entered the marsh, the scouts were greeted with a volley of arrows.

In the surrounding forest, they heard the sound of drums and the whoops of mustering savages. Prudently, LaSalle recalled his scouts, and desiring to keep the peace along the river, resumed his course. The tribesmen probably belonged to the Quinipissas, who dwelt in what is now St. Charles Parish.

A few leagues below, the French came to a cluster of three villages on the left bank of the river, apparently devoid of inhabitants. LaSalle landed a party, and the three villages were found to be filled with corpses. These villages of the Tangipahoa tribe had been sacked by their enemies only a few days before.

By now, the French were nearing the end of their daring venture. On April 6, the expedition arrived at a place where the river divided itself into three branches.

LaSalle divided his party. He descended the westernmost branch. Tonti took the central passage, and the Sieur d'Autray descended the eastern arm. They moved through flat country, the current flowing sluggishly between the shores of reeds and marshes.

The water was brackish, and the horizon was limited on all sides by wind-driven walls of gray-brown reeds. The brackish water grew salty, and the breeze was fresh with the tang of the sea.

Then the reeds fell behind, and before LaSalle's canoe there rolled the broad, boundless surface of the Gulf of Mexico, tranquil, shimmering in the sun, without a sail, as unsullied as when it came forth from the bourne of time.

It must have been an exultant moment for LaSalle. Despite the hardships, the setbacks, the disappointments, this fierce, proud man had reached his goal. For the first time a white man had traveled from the St. Lawrence River to the Gulf of Mexico, through the heart of an unknown continent, traveling by water except for a few miles overland.

From his early days in Canada, LaSalle had searched for a great central waterway, and now he had proved that it existed.

LaSalle set his paddlers to work coasting the marshy borders of the sea before he decided to return to the rendezvous at the conjunction of the three distributaries. When all had reassembled, LaSalle held a ceremony claiming all of the surrounding lands for France.

A column was set up, bearing the rudely carved inscription: *«Louis le Grand, Roy de France et Navarre, Règne; Le Neuvième Avril, 1682.»* Beside the column, a large cross was erected. Beneath the cross LaSalle buried a leaden plate on which were scratched the words: *«Ludovicus Magnus Regnat.»*

Father Zenobe bestowed his blessing upon the party, and LaSalle formally proclaimed the land as the possession of France, giving to Louis XIV and his successors «the possession of this country of Louisiana, the seas, harbors, ports, bays, adjacent straits, and all the nations, peoples, provinces, cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams and rivers, within the extent of the said Louisiana, from the mouth of the great river and the rivers which discharge themselves thereinto, from its sources beyond the country of the Nadouessioux (the Sioux) and as far as its mouth at the sea, or the Gulf of Mexico.»

With one magnificent gesture, LaSalle had presented to his sovereign the heart of an entire continent, an area many times larger than France, and named in honor of its new overlord.

The Colonization of Louisiana

In discovering the mouth of the Mississippi and claiming the valley of the great river for the crown of France, LaSalle reached the peak of his career.

After the exhilaration of the discovery, however, it was time for the French to retrace their steps, to gain once more the sanctuary of Canada, where LaSalle was determined to consolidate the vast empire he had won for his king at the expense of so much suffering and hardship.

The expedition began the long journey back up the river, by herculean efforts this time, against the current. Supplies were running low, and LaSalle was in a hurry.

For some days the party subsisted on the flesh of alligators. They arrived at a village of the Quinipissas, determined to seek food. They were feasted by the tribesmen, but attacked in the night. The same thing occurred at the village of the Koroas. The French won through unscathed, but LaSalle was suddenly stricken with a serious illness, probably a fever. He was unable to proceed past Fort Prud'homme, and sent Tonti on ahead of him. It was not until September that LaSalle was well enough to travel the rest of the journey to Canada.

There he found that Governor Frontenac, his long-time supporter, had been recalled. He also found his creditors importunate and, in some cases, nasty.

Determined to shore up his fortunes, LaSalle once more sailed for France. He was not destined to return to the country of his triumphs, however. His return expedition to the Mississippi met with disaster. A faulty navigator put LaSalle and a colony destined for Louisiana ashore on the plains of Texas, then abruptly departed for France.

For some time the colony subsisted, but as supplies dwindled, LaSalle was determined to try to find his way back to Canada and help. On the way, he was murdered by one of his own men, somewhere near the Brazos River in Texas.

LaSalle's dream of an American empire did not die with his death, however, and it was now time for Charles LeMoyne and his pride of young Canadian lions to take the center of the Louisiana stage.

Charles LeMoyne was a native of Dieppe, born in the parish of Saint-Rémy in 1626. As a youth, he joined an uncle in New France, where he won employment at one of the Jesuit posts on Lake Huron. Here he became so proficient at Indian dialects that he was able to take up residence in Montreal as an official interpreter. He was given a grant of land, which he began to cultivate, and soon became a man of prominence in the little frontier town. In 1654 he married Catherine Thierry, a native of the Diocese of Rouen.

The LeMoynes settled in their home and began to rear the remarkable family of sons whose leadership was to gain them the title of the Maccabees of Canada. As his sons grew up, LeMoyne added to their names titles taken from localities near his native Dieppe. Occasionally, when a boy died early in life, his title was transferred to a later arrival. Here is a list of the LeMoyne children with the dates of their birth:

Charles de Longueuil (1656), Jacques de Sainte-Hélène (1659), Pierre d'Iberville (1661), Paul de Maricourt (1663), François de Bienville I (1666), Joseph de Sérigny (1668), François-Marie (1670), an unnamed child (1672), Catherine-Jeanne (1673), Louis de Châteauguay I (1676), Marie-Ann (1678), Jean Baptiste de Bienville II (1680), Gabriel d'Assigny (1681), Antoine de Châteauguay II (1683).

The greatest of Charles' sons, however, and the most important to Louisiana, was Pierre d'Iberville, the third child. At the age of 14 he was appointed a midshipman in the French Navy and was sent to France. After four years' service, he returned to Canada, where he took part in the almost-incessant fighting between the French and the English. Although he fought with only a few hundred men, or small fleets of two or three ships, Iberville possessed a natural aptitude for the tactics and strategy of war.

He began his Canadian career in 1686, when he led a detachment under DeTroyes against the English forts on Hudson's Bay, and aided in the reduction of the forts. Also, with the aid of his brothers, he captured two English ships. He was left in command of the forts and succeeded in 1688 in capturing two more ships.

In 1690 he participated in the campaign against Schenectady and later in the year recaptured Fort Albany on Hudson's Bay, which the English had retaken. In 1694 he captured Fort Nelson, and during the winter of 1696-97 he captured Fort Pemaquid and ravaged the English settlements on the coast of Newfoundland.

In 1697, in command of a frigate, he again entered Hudson's Bay and captured three superior English ships in a desperate engagement. Again he took Fort Nelson, which the English had retaken.

The Peace of Ryswick left him unemployed, just when the French government sought someone to carry on LaSalle's work in Louisiana.

Although the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 ended hostilities between the French and the English, Jérome Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain, the French minister of marine, still found himself faced with problems.

He knew that the Spaniards were planning to establish a base at Pensacola Bay, and from the limited geographic knowledge of the time Pontchartrain suspected this was designed to blockade the mouth of the Mississippi,

He also heard reports that the English were planning an overland expedition toward the Mississippi from their seaboard colonies on the Atlantic.

Faced with these threats, Pontchartrain devised an expedition of his own to plant a fort at the Mississippi's mouth. It so happened, too, that he had just the man to command this venture – his premier Canadian captain, Pierre LeMoyne d'Iberville. Iberville was an experienced navigator and would not make the mistake of missing the mouth of the Mississippi. And if it came to a clash of arms Iberville had already proved his mettle against the English.

Iberville was given two ships, *Le Marin* and *La Badine*, both frigates of 30 guns. Two smaller craft, called traversiers, were added to the flotilla, and a contingent of French and Canadians was recruited to man the fort. A company of French marines was also furnished for any skirmishing that might be necessary.

Iberville assumed command of *La Badine*, with his younger brother, Jean-Baptiste de Bienville, as second in command. *Le Marin* was under the command of the Chevalier Grange de Surgères, while his second officer was the Sieur Sauvole de la Villantray.

The expedition of some 300 men departed Brest on October 24, 1698, and Iberville needed only 31 days to reach Cap François, the northern tip of St. Domingue, the leading French colony in the West Indies.

After a refreshing stay, the fleet sailed on to Leogane, the colonial capital on the western side of the island, for a conference with Jean du Casse, the governor. There d'Iberville recruited a detachment of «buccaneers» to aid in his colonization efforts. On the last day of 1698 d'Iberville sailed from Leogane, rounded the tip of the island, and set a westward course for the mainland.

After an uneventful voyage, the French fleet reached Pensacola Bay on Jan. 26, 1699. The fleet anchored in the bay and discovered there a Spanish vessel. The next morning d'Iberville sent an officer ashore to reconnoitre. He returned with news that the Spaniards had a colony of 300 men ashore building a fort. The post was called Santa Maria de Galve. The Spanish commander sent word that he would not allow the French vessels to enter the harbor, but they might continue at anchor in the outer bay.

Iberville did not tarry, but set sail westward, convinced that the Mississippi lay beyond Pensacola. He now entered unfamiliar waters, and proceeded with caution, taking frequent soundings and never losing sight of shore.

On the last day of January, the French fleet anchored off Mobile Bay, which Iberville proceeded to explore with a long boat from *La Badine*.

The bay extends some 25 miles inland, to the mouths of the combined Tensas and Mobile rivers. At first Iberville thought this might be the mouth of the Mississippi, but nothing in the contours of the coastline resembled what he had been told.

The French landed, built a hut on the shore and explored farther inland. They saw several Indians in canoes, who fled at their approach. Later contact was made with hunting parties of the Bayougoula and Mougoulacha tribes, who shared settlements on the Mississippi. Iberville was careful to maintain friendly relations with the tribes, who could help him with their knowledge of the country.

Once the French were established on the shore, Iberville prepared his two traversiers to explore the coastline to the west.

Iberville manned the two craft with his Canadian veterans and the «buccaneers» he had recruited in St. Domingue. The two vessels sailed out of Mobile Bay on January 27 and threaded their way through the maze of small islands that dot this part of the Gulf of Mexico.

The weather was bad. High winds, torrential rains and thunder and lightning impeded progress and made life in the small boats miserable. On the second day of March, as the two vessels raced along under a quartering wind, Iberville saw to the southeast a line of rocks projecting out from the coast. It was almost dark when he saw a rift in the line of rocks, and he sailed through.

Suddenly he found himself rising easily on a quiet stream. He had discovered the North Pass of the Mississippi. The water was fresh, and it had a thick, whitish appearance, just as LaSalle had described. The rocks he saw proved to be masses of driftwood and mud piled up by the current, blackened with age and cemented together by sediment brought down by the great river.

On the following day, Shrove Tuesday, Iberville began to ascend the river. Two and a half leagues above the entrance, they came to a juncture with two other branches, and a broad sheet of water more than 1,000 yards wide rolled before them.

Proceeding northward, the French passed through a vast region of canes and rushes extending as far as the eye could see. For the next few days they continued up river until March 7, when they made contact with more members of the Bayougoulas Indians.

A tribesman agreed to guide them farther up the river to an Indian village where they might obtain food.

On March 13, the expedition reached the Bayougoulas village on the western shore of the river some 65 leagues from the river mouth. An aged sachem smoked a calumet with Iberville, and the French were given a proper welcome.

Food was brought–an unappetizing mush of sagamite, beans and Indian corn cooked in bear grease--but the hungry Frenchmen made short work of it. Then the tribe staged an Indian dance in honor of the French, and a chief strutted forward wearing a blue coat that had been given to him by Henri di Tonti. Here was evidence that the river was the Mississippi, but Iberville had to be certain. Was there other evidence?

As Iberville's two traversiers continued upstream in the broad, rolling river, the French captain was convinced he had found LaSalle's Mississippi River, but he still hoped for definite evidence of the fact.

After spending the night of March 13 on the river bank, the party rowed northward against the river's current and shortly after midday they were escorted to the main village of the Bayougoulas, a hundred-odd huts surrounded by a 10-foot wall of cane. There were some 250 Indians here, many of whom were suffering from smallpox–added evidence that they had been in contact with Europeans.

On the morning of March 16, the expedition set out northward once more, this time accompanied by Bayougoulas guides. They passed a small stream on the eastern bank (probably Bayou Manchac). Later in the day the French saw on the east bank a high pole, stained with some red substance and adorned with the heads of fish and bears.

Iberville was told the pole marked the boundary between the territories of the Bayougoulas and the Houmas. The Indians called the marker «Istrouma», which the French freely translated as «Baton Rouge.»

Two days later they arrived at a landing place where they might pick up the trail to the chief Houma village. Gathered on the shore was a delegation of Indians with a peace pipe. The Houmas were a branch of the Choctaw nation, and the landing place was probably just north of Tunica Island. The village itself lay a league and a half southeast of Clarke's Lake.

After his ceremonial visits with the Houmas, Iberville considered driving still farther north on the river, but decided against it. This must be the Mississippi, and he decided to turn back for the coast, since it would soon be time for him to return to France.

When the party arrived at Bayou Manchac, Iberville decided to explore a short cut to Biloxi Bay mentioned by his Indian guides.

Sauvole and Bienville were ordered downriver with the traversiers, while Iberville and four of his men, plus a Mougoulacha guide, set out in two canoes and turned off into Bayou Manchac, through the Amite River, Lake Maurepas, then Lake Pontchartrain, thence into the Gulf of Mexico. On March 30 he camped on the shore some four leagues from where *La Badine* rode at anchor, and lighted a bonfire to attract attention.

By noon the next day Iberville was back aboard his flagship, arriving shortly after Sauvole and Bienville. Iberville was overjoyed to find his brother had, while in the Bayougoulas camp, discovered a letter that Tonti had left on April 20, 1685, when he descended the Mississippi in search of LaSalle's expedition.

In the letter Tonti wrote that he had found the post on which LaSalle had nailed the coat of arms of France at the river's mouth in 1682. There was no longer any doubt that the great river was the Mississippi.

Now was the time to select a site for a French fort to guard the approaches to the river, since supplies were getting low and the ships must soon sail for France.

Iberville decided on Biloxi Bay as the most favorable site, and on April 8 the French began to clear land for their fort.

The work went smoothly and by midsummer of 1699 the fort was completed.

Iberville named it Fort Maurepas, in honor of Count Pontchartrain's son, and then prepared to return to France.

Iberville selected 75 of his best men and six cabin boys to garrison the fort and left them six months' supplies. The Sieur de Sauvole was to be the commander.

On May 9 Iberville weighed anchor and set sail for France in the *Marin*, accompanied by *La Badine*.

The garrison left behind by Iberville made up the first French colonists in the new colony of Louisiana. The list of names, preserved in the French National Archives, has been reprinted several times, as follows:

Officers: Sauvole, commandant; Bienville; Le Vasseur de Roussouvelle; the Rev. Bordenave, chaplain; Pierre Cave, surgeon-major.

Petty officers: Jean François de Vasseur, master of *La Précieuse*; François Guyon, master of *Le Voyageur*; Nicolas la Voye; Pierre Tabatrau, road pilot; Philipes Ley, master gunner.

Sailors: Pierre Hardouin (Ardoin), ship carpenter; Raymond Saintot; Bernard Saurotte; Jacques Roy, ship carpenter.

Canadians: Jacques Bellair, Pierre Pot, Philipes du Coudret, Pierre Tesserontie, Antoine Damedieu, Le Polonnais, Hurs Le Roy, Claude Marandan, Jean de Chesne, Estienne Godefray, Jean Emery, Jean Pintureau, Jean du Boullary, Jean Baptiste Herviers, Jean Cabuteau, Tineau Alexandre, Louis Guay, Antoine Olivier.

Freebooters: Pierre Desmarsz, Michael Chesse, Nocholas de Garde, Jean Nimonneàu, Jean Desplans, Philipes Paget, Pierre Bertrand, Jacques Emerit, André Regnaux, Jacques Carolle, Jean Charneaux, Louis Le Duc, Pierre St. Germain.

Laborers: Jacques Gourdon, edge-tool maker; François Nicaud, carpenter; Estienne Tardif; Henri Croisy; Jean la Porte; François de Salle, shoemaker; Esteinen Duguay, baker; Marc Antoine Basset; Claude Bage; Pierre Potus.

Cabin boys: St. Michel, Pierre Huet, Gabriel Marcal, Jean Joly, Jacques Charon, Pierre le Vasseur.

Soldiers: Daniel Pineau, François Montiron, Jean Desgarennes, Pierre Bosset, Jacques Porche, Heyerome Brouin, Jean Malbeg, Jean Marpeaux, Pierre Godeaux, Guillaume Martin, Antoine Niret, Jean Chesne, Jean du Val, Nicolas la Tuille, Jacques Henry, Pierre Vallet, Pierre Maury, Morgan Nomme, Pierre Cilliraux, Guillaume Lucas.

On January 8, 1700, Iberville arrived again at Fort Maurepas, heading a fleet that consisted of the *Renommée*, the *Gironde*, commanded by the Chevalier de Surgères, and two feluccas for use in navigating the Mississippi.

He found affairs well at the fort, with only four men having died since he had departed. In view of heavy mortality suffered in other early settlements in the New World, this was a remarkably good record.

While Iberville had been absent in France, Sauvole and Bienville had been exploring the country and making contact with the Indians. Sauvole had cemented relations with the tribes living near the fort and had dispatched two of his cabin boys to live with the Bayougoulas and the Houmas, to learn their customs and language.

Bienville led exploring parties to the Pearl River and Mobile Bay and later to the Pascagoula River. He cemented friendly relations with the Colapissas, the Biloxis, the Pascagoulas and the Moctobi.

Since the discovery of the Mississippi by Marquette and Joliet, the great river valley was being visited by more and more missionaries, traders and trappers from Canada, and these wanderers sometimes drifted downriver to the Gulf of Mexico. Sauvole reported to Iberville that two missionaries from the monastery of Quebec had visited the fort. The Rev. François de Montigny had established a mission among the Tensas, and the Rev. Antoine Davion was serving the Tunicas. They visited the fort accompanied by 18 men and stayed for two weeks before setting forth on their missions.

Shortly before Iberville's arrival, however, Sauvole had received ominous news. It was reported that Father de Montigny had been murdered by the Natchez Indians. Sauvole also reported to Iberville that Bienville, on one of his explorations, had met an English ship on the Mississippi, and had persuaded the English to depart. Iberville thus felt that he had to mount an expedition against the Natchez to punish them for the murder, and also to build another fort on the Mississippi itself to prevent more incursions by the English.

A number of men who would become famous in Louisiana accompanied Iberville on his second voyage. Among them were the Rev. Paul du Ru, a Jesuit, as chaplain for the colony; André Joseph Penicaut, a master carpenter who spent two decades in the colony and recorded its early years in his chronicles; Pierre du Gue de Boisbriant, a major in the French Army; and the most celebrated of all, Louis Juchereau de St. Denis, the explorer-adventurer who was to found the city of Natchitoches.

Soon after his arrival, Iberville departed for the Mississippi, accompanied by Bienville and St. Denis. The expedition headed for Lake Pontchartrain, seeking a crossing to the Mississippi and succeeding after a muddy portage near Bayou St. John.

Bienville paddled upstream to seek high ground for a fort, while Iberville returned to Fort Maurepas, where he prepared a traversier and two feluccas, plus a force of 80 men to explore the north country and to move against the Natchez Indians.

Since the larger ships could not use the short cut through Lake Pontchartrain, Iberville entered the river through the North Pass. When he arrived at a spot Bienville had selected, 17 leagues from the river's mouth, the combined forces began to construct another fort, named Fort de la Boulaye.

While the fort was being constructed, Iberville sent instructions for Boisbriant and Le Sueur to come to the new fort with another party of men. When they arrived, the combined forces prepared to move north against the Natchez.

Before they left, however, they were pleasantly surprised at the arrival of the illustrious Henri di Tonti, LaSalle's colleague, who came down river with a force of 22 Canadians from the Illinois country.

Di Tonti informed Iberville that Father de Montigny had not been murdered but was alive and still performing his mission with the Tensas. On hearing this news, Iberville dispatched most of the soldiers back to Fort Maurepas, and persuaded di Tonti to accompany him up the river.

The party, now reduced in size, paddled upriver, making contact with the Indians, until they reached the village of the Tensas, where Iberville was seized with violent pains in a kneecap, which prevented him from walking. This untimely mishap forced Iberville to return to Fort Maurepas, but he dispatched Bienville to explore the Red River and LeSueur and di Tonti to ascend the Mississippi to search for copper mines and other minerals reported there.

Iberville was immobilized on the Mississippi for some weeks, and it was not until May 18 that he arrived back at Fort Maurepas. He prepared once more to return to France, leaving Sauvole again in command, and pleased that the colony had been reinforced by the arrival of Tonti. The latter had made several trips down the river after LaSalle's expedition and by 1700 he and his *coureur de bois* were acquainted with much of the Mississippi River Valley and the eastern and northern parts of modern Louisiana.

In May 1700, Iberville sailed again for France. During his absence, the colonists carried out the various explorations he had ordered. Le Sueur led an expedition up the Mississippi to the Sioux country, seeking copper mines, while St. Denis returned to the Red River, spending some six months sloshing through swamps and flood plains. Le Sueur returned with a cargo of blue earth, thought to be copper, which was later sent to France.

Meanwhile, supplies began to grow short. The French had not yet learned to farm in the semi-tropical climate of the Gulf Coast. Fishing and hunting afforded fresh meat, but most of the colonial energy was devoted to the fur trade.

In July, Gov. Sauvole died suddenly, leaving Bienville in command. Supplies failed to arrive either from France or Saint Domingue, and only food available was baskets of corn traded from the Indians. In addition, disease broke out, and when Iberville arrived again from France in December, he found only 150 of the colonists left alive. It was then decided to shift the fort to a more suitable site. For this new fort, Iberville chose the area of Mobile Bay.

Bienville and his contingent reported from Fort de la Boulaye and helped to construct the new Fort St. Louis de la Mobile on the Mobile River. Larger than Fort Maurepas, which was now abandoned, the new fort measured 325 feet along each of its four walls. When the fort was completed, Iberville felt, it would be a more healthful site for colonial headquarters and would be strong enough to defend the Mississippi Valley from the English, the Spanish or any other intruders.

In April of 1702, Iberville left his Louisiana colony for the last time, weighing anchor for Cape Hatien and then for France. Shortly before his arrival in France, Queen Anne's War broke out between England and France. Iberville was given command of a French squadron, and set sail for the West Indies.

He struck a strong blow for France by seizing the British islands of St. Nevis and St. Christopher and captured an enormous treasure on the island of Martinique. He then weighed anchor for Havana to join forces with the Spaniards for an assault upon the British key position on Barbados.

In Havana, however, Iberville fell victim to yellow fever. On July 9, 1706, within two weeks of his forty-fifth birthday, he died on board his flagship.

Bienville, left in charge in Louisiana, sought to deal with the colony's problems. Yellow fever, imported from Saint Domingue, where African slaves had brought it, swept over the colony and carried many to early deaths. Hurricanes blew down houses, destroyed crops and ruined stores.

Bienville pleaded for more help from France, for more suitable colonists and especially for girls of marriage age. In 1704, 23 young women arrived, and they soon found as many husbands. The same ship also brought 75 soldiers, four families of artisans, a curate and two Gray Sisters.

The newcomers boosted the colony's total population to 195, but 94 of these were soldiers and sailors, who could be expected to return to France once their tours of duty had been completed. Another 50 or so were Canadian trappers and traders who roamed far and wide and were seldom seen in any of the settlements. By 1706, the colony had dwindled to 85 inhabitants, but a new influx from France raised the population to 178 in 1710.

In 1706, a census reported that there were 23 families in Louisiana who could be presumed to be permanent settlers and the nucleus around which the garrison and the fur traders revolved. The heads of these families were:

M. de la Salle, the intendent; Guillaume Broutin, Jean Roy, Jean La Loire, Jean LeCamp, François May, Nicholas La Freniere, François Trudeau, Etienne Bruille, Michel Riche, Laurent Clostiny, the Sieur Barran, André Renaud, Gilbert Dardenne, Pierre Broussard, Pierre Allin, Jean Bonobonnoire, Antoine Rinarre, Claude Trepanie, Jean Coulomb, Joseph Peniguad, Jean Sossie and Jean Louis Minuity.

The census also reported there were three widows, Mme. Le Sueur, Mme. Gabrielle Bonnot and Mme. Anne Perro.

Thus, after several years of colonizing effort, the French government had comparatively little to show for its efforts. Deciding that the colony was too much of a drain on the treasury, it was decided to grant Louisiana to a proprietor, after the manner of many of the English colonies.

The man chosen was Antoine Crozat, the Marquis de Chatel, and in 1712 he took control of Louisiana. His responsibility was to supply the colony for its needs and to underwrite all expenses except those of the military. In return, he hoped to reap profits from minerals and trading rights.

The enthusiastic Crozat decided to invest 700,000 livres in Louisiana and quickly sent out the first shipload of supplies. On board, too, was Crozat's new governor, Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac; a new commissary commissioner, Jean Baptiste du Bois du Clos; and 25 prospective brides from Normandy.

Gov. Cadillac found his new post disappointing. He wrote back to his master that «this whole continent is not worth having.» Ordered to turn his attention to agriculture, he reported «this wretched country is good for nothing....»

He was, nevertheless, an energetic man, and set about promoting the Indian trade, as well as trade with the Spaniards in Mexico and the Floridas, with the English colonies and with the islands of the Caribbean.

In 1714, he sent out St. Denis once more to establish a post on the Red River, and for this the latter chose a site that was to grow into the present city of Natchitoches. When his post was completed, the romantic St. Denis set out with a pack train and trade goods for Mexico.

At San Juan Bautista, on the Rio Grande, St. Denis was detained by the Spanish commandant, Diego Ramon. While in custody, St. Denis fell in love with the commandant's granddaughter, Manuela Sanchez y Ramon. He was quickly bundled off to Mexico City, where he made a good impression upon the authorities and was ordered released.

He returned to San Juan Bautista and resumed his courtship of Manuela until her reluctant grandfather consented to their marriage. For several years, St. Denis conducted an extensive Indian trade in western Louisiana, and in 1722 was appointed commandant of Fort Saint Jean Baptiste at Natchitoches, where he lived until his death in 1744.

Meanwhile, Cadillac was building other posts--Fort Toulouse at the juncture of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers, and Fort Tombecbe on the Tombigbee River--designed to keep the English from infiltrating the lower Mississippi country.

Since the Canadian hunters and *coureurs de bois* scorned agricultural labor, Cadillac imported Negro slaves to work the fields and raise food crops. Some 500 were brought in during 1716 and 3,000 the following year. They proved a troublesome addition, being rebellious and addicted to voodooism.

Despite all of his energies, however, Cadillac was something of a misfit in his job. He proved to be quarrelsome and opinionated, and in 1716 he was recalled by Crozat. Bienville once more took over the reins of government, pending the arrival of Crozat's new governor.

By 1717, Antoine Crozat was having second thoughts about his investments in Louisiana. He had dispatched a new governor, Jean Michele, Seigneur de Lépinay et de la Longvuille, to supervise his affairs, and the king had sent out five companies of infantry with the new governor.

The national exchequer was low, however, and the crown decided to increase the taxes on property in France. Since Crozat was one of those who had to dig deeper, he asked to be relieved of his Louisiana responsibilities, since he had already lost some one million livres in that enterprise.

The crown granted him his wish, and

sought to find another proprietor. One was at hand. He was that legendary character, John Law, a Scot who had gained an international reputation as a financier.

Many of his ideas on government finance were ahead of his time. He interested the Duc d'Orléans in his schemes, however, and was enabled by the regent's patronage to open a bank in Paris, which became known as the General Bank of France.

Law took up the challenge of the Louisiana colony. He organized the Company of the West to supervise the colony and capitalized it at 100 million livres, half the shares of which were offered to the public. Law received a charter on the same terms as Crozat, and he promised to send 6,000 colonists and 3,000 slaves to Louisiana within 10 years.

The Sieur de Lépinay surrendered the reins of government when Crozat was relieved of his charter, and Bienville once more became the colonial governor.

One of Bienville's first projects was to persuade colonial officials in Paris to provide for the founding of a town and trading post on the Mississippi River, which would improve communications with the Illinois country and Canada and also provide a better anchorage for vessels from France than was available at either Biloxi or Mobile.

Early in 1718, Bienville gathered a work force of 50 men and departed Mobile. Sailing up the river, he chose a spot where the river bends in a big crescent near Lake Pontchartrain.

The site was higher than most other spots along the river, and it was accessible to the sea both via the river mouth and via Lake Pontchartrain. He ordered a site cleared and a town laid out. Work proceeded slowly, and by the end of the year, only a portion of the land had been cleared and a few huts built.

In 1719, a severe hurricane struck, ruining much of the stores and flattening the huts. In 1720, the Paris headquarters sent out Adrien de Pauger as colonial engineer, and he directed the work force in laying out streets and blocks. His plan called for a town eight blocks long facing the river, and extending for five blocks inland.

Drainage ditches and canals were dug. A wharf was constructed. The first church and building to house the municipal authorities were next. Also, a cemetery was laid out. Bienville called the town Nouvelle Orléans, in honor of the Regent of France, the Duc d'Orléans.

In September 1721, a five-day storm destroyed most of the building, but the town was quickly rebuilt. The town grew steadily and at the end of 1721 had a population of 147 men, 65 women, 38 children, 28 servants, 73 slaves and 21 Indians.

In 1722, two hurricanes again leveled the settlement, and again it was rebuilt, this time with several brick buildings. The town, as laid out by Pauger, occupied the site of the present *Vieux Carre* of modern New Orleans.

When Law and his subordinates attempted to find colonists to boost the size of the Louisiana colony, they discovered what other would-be colonizers had come to realize: Frenchmen were not eager to forsake La Belle France. They had no desire to leave what they considered the finest country on the globe to risk the wilds of the New World.

Law and his colleagues, therefore,

sought help from the authorities. They were given right to impress vagabonds, to take men and women from prison, houses of correction and poor farms. They even instigated press gangs to fill their quotas of willing and unwilling colonists.

The impressed colonists proved to be more of a liability than an asset. For many of them, the long voyage in cramped ships, plus the rigors of life in the colony, where malaria and yellow fever were constant threats, proved too much. Scores of them died on the passage out or after they had reached Louisiana.

On March 9, 1718, three vessels arrived from France with three companies of infantry and 69 colonists. In June 1718, three more vessels arrived from France with 300 colonists, troops and convicts. Of these, 148 were sent to Natchitoches, 92 to the Yazzoo lands which were being developed and 68 to New Orleans.

In January, 300 more colonists arrived, and in February 80 girls from a Paris house of correction were landed.

Some of these proved to be sturdy and dependable colonists, but most of them, from the busy streets of large cities in France, were unable to cope with the wilderness, a strange climate and deadly new diseases. Soon they became public charges or died.

It became evident that some other means of attracting settlers to Louisiana would have to be developed.

Early in their proprietorship of Louisiana, John Law and his associates decided that they must seek farther afield, beyond the borders of France, to find colonists for their settlements in the Mississippi Valley.

Using modern public relations techniques, they spread glowing advertisements of Louisiana throughout the Rhine Valley, particularly in the Palatinate of Germany. Subsequently, thousands of Palatine Germans, attracted by the rich promises of Law and his associates, decided to seek new homes for themselves in Louisiana.

No one knows how many Germans came to the New World. Early estimates set the number from 8,000 to 10,000, but modern research has indicated that this is far too high. Many of the Germans grew tired of waiting in French ports for transportation and returned to Germany. Others took jobs in France. Epidemics killed many others.

Modern research indicates that not more than 1,200 Germans ever really landed in the French colonies.

The mass immigrations began in 1719 and continued through 1720. According to André Penicaut, whose journal is the source of much of the history of the colony during this period, some 4,000 colonists arrived during 1720 in seven ships from France. They were, Penicaut said, French, Germans and Swiss.

The new colonists were landed at Biloxi and at Mobile, and thus had to make their way overland to their new homes in concessions laid out along the course of the Mississippi.

Many of them suffered hardships during this journey since little or no preparations had been made to furnish them with food and transportation. In 1721 and 1722, other hundreds of German colonists arrived.

Because of oversights there was often not enough food for the newcomers, who were told to subsist upon what they might catch on the beaches. They combed the surf, searching for crabs, oysters and the like, and purchased as much corn from the Indians as they could.

Many starved on the beaches before they could be sent inland to the concessions awaiting them, and epidemic diseases swept away hundreds more.

Those among them who survived disease and starvation eventually settled along the Mississippi River north of New Orleans, a stretch that soon became known as the German Coast.

These settlers proved to be capable farmers and industrious workers, and they provided a valuable addition to Louisiana. In fact, a number of historians have stated that the Germans really saved the colony from stagnation.

No one knows today how many Germans first settled along the river, but a census in 1724 revealed them to be securely established in farms. Here are the family names of those listed in the census:

Anton, d'Arensbourg, Bailiff, Bayer, Bebloquet, Berlinger, Betz, Bock, Callander, Christman, Clausen, Clemens, Cretzmann, Distelweig, Dubs, Edelmeier, Engel, Friedrich, Foltz, Fromberger, Funck, Fuchs, Grabert, Hegli, Heidel, Heil, Hencke, Hemmel, Hofmann, Horn, Huber, Kamper, Katzenberger, Kistenmacher, Klomp, Kobler, Krestmann, Kuhn.

Also, Jansen, Lambert, Lesch, Luech, Magdolff, Manz, Marx, Matern, Merkel, Mayer, Miltenberger, Monthe, Mueller, Muench, Necker, Oberle, Pictot, Poche, Raser, Reinhard, Ritter, Reusch, Richner, Riehl, Rodler, Rommel, Schaf, Schantz, Scheckschneider, Schenck, Schmidt, Schmitz, Strantz, Struempfl.

Also, Tet, Thiel, Traeger, Trischl, Troxler, Vogel, Wagensback, Wagner, Weber, Weiss, Weisskramer, Weller, Wiltz, Wichner, Yens, Zahn, Zahnbrecker, Zehringer, Ziriac, Zweig.

Early travelers boating down the Mississippi have left descriptions of the neat farms and the little white houses standing in great numbers on both banks of the river. They tell how the German farmers rowed down to New Orleans with their crops of vegetables, corn, rice, and later indigo, to sell their goods on Sunday in front of the Cathedral.

They also tell how, in the 1760's, the provisions generously offered by the settlers of the German Coast saved the Acadian exiles, who landed in Louisiana as bereft of supplies as had the original Germans.

The census of 1724 reports the settlers on the German Coast as follows: 53 men, 57 women, 59 children, or a total of 169 persons. Other German settlements brought the total to about 330.

Down through the years, the Germans multiplied as their children grew and founded families of their own. As the Germans intermarried with the French and as they registered their baptisms, marriages and births with French-speaking clergymen, a subtle evolution took place in the original German names. Slowly, they became Gallicized.

Some were translated directly into French. *Zweig*, for example, is a German word meaning twig. When the first Zweig registered in Louisiana, the French functionary decided to translate into French, and the family abruptly became LaBranche.

In another curious evolution, Miltenberger became Mil de Bergue, and Edelmeier became Le Maire.

Other German names, and the French spelling they now have are Clemens (Clement), Dubs (Toups), Engle (Hingle), Foltz (Folse), Heidel (Haydel), Huber (Oubre, Ouvre, Hoover), Kamper (Cambre), Katzenberger (Casbergue), Klomp (Klump), Jansen (Hentzen, Hensgens), Lesch (Leche, Laiche), Manz (Montz), Mayer (Mayeux), Reinhard (Reynard).

Also, Richner (Rixner), Rommel (Rome), Schaf (Chauffe), Scheckschneider (Schexnayder, Schexnailder, etc.), Traeger (Tregre), Trischl (Triche), Troxler (Trosclair), Wagensback (Waguespack), Weber (Webre), Wichner (Vicknair), Zehringer (Zeringue).

In 1720 the French colony in Louisiana fell upon hard times when John Law's huge economic structure collapsed. Law was hounded out of France, and the affairs of the colony were neglected by the government. Emigration lapsed. Concessions were abandoned. Lack of industry and know-how on the part of many colonists handicapped both themselves and the economic well-being of the colony.

Bienville, operating on meager resources, strove to hold the colony together and to strengthen its foundations. He continued to plead for help from France. In 1722 the first group of ***filles à la cassette*** arrived. Called «casket girls» because each was given a sort of hope chest to carry personal belongings, they were girls of marriageable age and of good moral character. They were lodged in New Orleans under the care of the Ursuline Sisters, who arrived the same year. All of the girls were soon married.

In 1728 Bienville was recalled to France to give an account of his stewardship, and a new governor was sent out. He was Etienne Boucher de la Perier de Salvert, a former naval officer who soon found himself embroiled in an Indian war. In 1729 the Natchez Indians, coaxed onward by English traders, attacked Fort Rosalie on the site of the present-day Natchez. The French garrison was slaughtered and nearly 300 colonists in the area were killed. It was the first serious Indian outbreak in many years.

The French gathered their forces for a counterattack, and in a winter campaign in 1730-31 the Natchez were routed, driven from their forts and harried out of the colony. Several hundred were captured and sold into slavery. The others fled to join the Choctaws, and the Natchez ceased to exist as a separate Indian nation.

The colony continued to make slow progress. By 1728 New Orleans had a population of nearly 1,000 and by then had a handsome brick church on the site of the present Cathedral of St. Louis.

In 1719 the d'Artaguette family had been given a concession of land on the east side of the Mississippi, five leagues above La Manchac. By 1725 land had been cleared and a settlement called Dironbourg had grown up, consisting of some 30 whites and 20 Negro slaves. The settlers, however, persisted in calling the settlement Baton Rouge.

In 1723 a detachment of soldiers was sent up the Red River to establish a post at the rapids. Thus, Poste du Rapides developed into present-day Pineville. New settlements were laid out along the lower Mississippi above and below New Orleans, and along the Upper Lafourche. By 1731 the population of the colony was estimated at 7,000.

Governor Perier, like all governors, had his troubles with the government at home, however, and was recalled in 1832. Bienville was called out of retirement, and made governor of the colony for the fourth time.

Bienville arrived back in Louisiana in the spring of 1733, a weather-beaten, yellow-complexioned man of 60. He found the colony growing but the reins of government lax and the military establishment in disarray. Food was scarce and the colony was suffering from extensive hurricane damage.

Before he was able to set many things aright, he was faced with another Indian outburst, this time on the part of the Choctaws and the Alabamas.

Bienville ordered forces upriver and downriver to assemble for a campaign. The upriver force rashly attacked before Bienville and the bulk of the French troops arrived, and was decimated.

Bienville, when he finally arrived, launched three attacks against the strongly entrenched tribe, but each attack was beaten off. He assembled an even larger force later, but in 1740 the Choctaws sued for peace, and a treaty was signed in April.

The last years of Bienville's term as governor were embittered by growing hostility on the part of French officials in Paris. Finally, he gave up in disgust and in 1742, at the age of 70, he asked to be retired. He departed for France in 1743, and disappeared from the colonial stage.

It is no exaggeration to say that without Bienville's patient and untiring efforts, the French colony may not have been founded. His skill as an administrator, his ability to endure hardships, official indifference back home, and the trials that face any pioneer leader, were at times the chief guarantee that the colony would survive.

Bienville spent most of his life in the American wilderness. He was 19 years younger than Iberville, his most famous brother, and was only 19 when Iberville left him as second in command to Sauvole in Louisiana. He became governor for the first time at age 21, when Sauvole died suddenly.

He helped build Fort Maurepas, Fort Rosalie at Natchez, Fort St. Louis at Mobile and posts at Block Island, at Baton Rouge and on the lower Mississippi. He established Mobile in 1711 and New Orleans in 1718.

Bienville surveyed the country, charted its waters and drew the first maps. He explored the Red River as far as Natchitoches, mastered several Indian dialects and waged war against a number of powerful tribes.

Historians have called his patience and tenacity without parallel in the history of European colonization. He built a strong and viable colony in Louisiana despite an indifferent court, jealousy within the colony and depredations by English and Indians.

Bienville introduced the first cattle, hogs and chickens into the colony. He grew and exported the first cotton and tobacco. He experimented with indigo and silk. He exported the first timber and turpentine. He was a sailor, soldier and explorer, but mainly he was a builder, and he had faith, tenacity, fortitude and frugality at a time when the infant colony needed them most.

One of his last acts was to request the

establishment of a college in Louisiana for the education of the colony's youth.

Bienville lived on in retirement in France for nearly 20 years after leaving Louisiana. He made perhaps his last notable appearance in 1762, when he appeared before the officials of the French court in a vain attempt to persuade them not to cede Louisiana to Spain. He died in 1768, at nearly 88 years of age.

Now it is time to retrace our steps to Nova Scotia, to consider the fortunes of the Acadians under English rule.

The Acadian Exile

Since 1713, the Acadians had lived under the English flag. The Treaty of Utrecht, signed in that year, gave the whole of the Acadian Peninsula to the English. By the terms of this same treaty, the Acadians were given the right to keep their arms, to practice their religion and to retain their possessions. The English often broke treaties, however.

By the treaty terms, for example, those Acadians wishing to leave the province to settle in Canada were to be allowed to go. They were to be given a year in which to prepare to move and were to be allowed to take their possessions with them. Those who elected to remain were assured that they would not be required to bear arms against the French.

Throughout the era of English rule, however, English officials denied permission of any Acadians to leave the province. It was correctly pointed out to the Board of Trade in London that if the Acadians left Nova Scotia, as the English called it, there would be no one left to support the British garrison with food and other supplies.

As early as 1720, members of the Board of Trade considered expelling the Acadians, but they felt their ties in Nova Scotia were still too weak. If the English garrison there needed wheat, or vegetables or meat, they must be procured from the Acadians. The English could not even get the timber they needed to build their forts without the aid of Acadian axemen.

During the War of the Austrian Succession, from 1744 to 1748, the Acadians maintained their neutrality, despite three invasions of Nova Scotia by French troops. Paul Mascarene, the English governor at the time, reported:

«The repeated attempts of the enemy on Nova Scotia have not had the success they expected; and notwithstanding the means they used to entice or force into open rebellion the Acadians, who are all of French extraction and papists, they have been not able to prevail, except upon a few of them.»

Despite this fact, the English government turned more and more to the idea of expulsion. A new governor, Sir Edward Cornwallis, was appointed with instructions to take a careful census of the Acadians, to allow no priests to officiate among them and to use all means necessary to have Acadian children instructed in the Protestant religion.

If these measures were not successful, sterner measures would be used. The Acadians sent many petitions to London, asking that their persecutions cease, but to no avail. Now, more and more of the Acadians were leaving their homes secretly and settling in French territory at New Brunswick. It has been estimated that some

6,000 left Nova Scotia between 1713 and 1755.

For those remaining in Nova Scotia, conditions grew worse in 1753 when Charles Lawrence became governor. Lawrence was a moody, irascible man, known in London for rashness and a quarrelsome nature.

The English citizens of Halifax in 1758 denounced Lawrence as «a lowly, crafty tyrant,» and inveighed in official protest against his «wicked mind and perfidious attitude,» for «oppression and tyranny.» They accused him of embezzling some 30,000 pounds in supplies, and for stealing 1,000 cattle and 3,000 hogs from the exiled Acadians.

As soon as he took over the administration of Nova Scotia, Lawrence moved to expel the Acadians. He feared to drive them into Canada, however, where their numbers would increase French strength.

Lawrence decided to use an oath of allegiance as a pretext. He would demand that the Acadians swear allegiance to the English, even to the point of fighting under the English flag against the French. As he explained his scheme:

«I will propose to them the oath of allegiance. If they refuse, we shall have in that refusal a pretext for the expulsion. If they accept, I will refuse them the oath, saying that Parliament prohibits them from taking it. In both cases, I will deport them.»

Preparations were carefully kept secret. Troops were marshalled near the principal Acadian towns. Ships were brought in from as far away as Boston. All Acadians were ordered to surrender all firearms or to be considered as rebels.

On August 1, 1755, Gov. Lawrence sent out his instructions to his troop detachments: All Acadian lands, tenements, cattle and livestock were to be forfeited with all other effects. All French inhabitants of Nova Scotia were to be removed and they were prohibited from carrying any of their possessions, except as much of their household goods as they might carry in their hands.

The Acadians were ordered to assemble at their churches to hear an important proclamation by the English government. At all points, the Acadians were told they were to be deported and were immediately held prisoners.

In Beaubassin, some 400 Acadians gathered to hear the proclamation. They were all imprisoned, and military detachments were sent through the countryside to bring in all others. Many others, being warned, fled into the forests. Most of them eventually made their way to Canada.

The 400 prisoners, including some 140 women and children, were driven aboard ships. There was no room for nearly 100 other wives and children, and they were left behind. Most of them attempted to reach Canada, but the majority died from exposure and starvation on the road.

Altogether, however, some two-thirds of the Beaubassin inhabitants escaped the English.

At Grand Pré 418 men met in the church, and all were taken prisoner. At Pisquid the English took 183 men. At Annapolis, nearly half of the population of 3,000 escaped. Today, the descendants of all of those escaped Acadians total some

230,000.

Those captured were loaded into ships, overcrowded, without provisions and shipped off to strange lands.

Edmund Burke wrote probably the most sober assessment of the expulsion:

«We did, in my opinion, most inhumanely, and upon pretenses that, in the eye of an honest man, are not worth a farthing, root out this poor, innocent, deserving people, whom our utter inability to govern, or to reconcile, gave us no sort of right to extirpate.»

The Acadians suffered grievously during their days of capture and imprisonment by the English, and even more on their voyages to exile.

In the Beaubassin region, some 400 men assembled to hear the governor's proclamation of exile, and they were immediately placed under armed guard. Military detachments were dispatched to round up all other Acadians in the area.

When ships arrived to take them into exile, the English authorities ordered the men onto the ships first. Some 400 men were taken, and then about 150 of the wives and children. No attempt was made to keep families together, and for the most part, husbands were separated from their wives and children from their parents.

At Grand Pré, some 418 men reported to hear the proclamation, and the same procedures were followed. At Pisquid, some 180 men were taken, and at Anapolis the toll was more than 1,500.

Those who escaped the soldiers had the wilderness to traverse because the English burned all of the houses and farm buildings, burned the crops and slaughtered all of the livestock they did not want for themselves. Those who escaped, therefore, faced the grim prospect of making the long journey to Canada and safety with little more than their hands to sustain them.

On Oct. 27, 1755, 14 ships carrying 1,600 Acadians from Grand Pré and 1,300 from Pisquid and Port Royal joined 10 transports in the Bay of Fundy with 1,900 Acadians from Beaubassin. This was the first wave of imprisonment and transportation that was to continue through 1763, until the Treaty of Paris ended the French and Indian War.

Food and water were inadequate aboard ship. In many instances, the Acadians were crowded into small ships so tightly packed that they could not lie down. The mortality rate was especially high among the old and the young, and this, coupled with no knowledge of other members of their families, made the voyage a nightmare for most.

Husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, parents and children, fiances and friends were separated, as they thought for only a few days or weeks, but for the vast majority, they were never to meet again on earth. Unknown to them, the ships all had different and far-distant destinations.

Gov. Lawrence had decided to scatter the exiles along the British colonies on the Atlantic seaboard, only he neglected to inform the authorities of these colonies that the Acadians were coming.

As a result, no preparations were made for them. They were dumped ashore with no friends, no money, no food, and only the clothing they wore. Six of the ships, bound for South Carolina, were hit by a storm and forced into Boston for repair. The Boston authorities reported the ships overloaded, with insufficient food and polluted water. They were not seaworthy, it was reported, and the exiles thus were disembarked in Boston.

They were there made indentured slaves. Those who still had their children had them torn away and distributed in Protestant homes in various Massachusetts towns. The Acadians were forbidden to leave the towns in which they were indentured for any reason, even to seek relatives.

Some 300 exiled to New York met the same fate. Colonial authorities complained that Lawrence had sent the exiles «poor, naked, without any of the necessities of life . . . a heavy burden on this colony.»

About 450 were sent to Pennsylvania, where the governor said he did not know what to do with them and demanded that Lawrence take them back. Smallpox soon broke out in the ships, and many died.

Nearly 1,000 Acadians were sent to Maryland, and there alone they received a welcome, since Maryland had been settled by English Catholics, so the Acadians were not considered to be aliens. They were quartered in private homes at first and then helped to find and build houses for themselves.

A suburb of Baltimore became known as French Town, where a church was built for them. Others spread out to other Maryland towns where many of their descendants still live.

Virginia, too, refused to receive the exiles, kept them from coming ashore, and here too, epidemics broke out and many hundreds died. Finally, the survivors were taken to England, where they were treated as prisoners of war.

About 1,000 Acadians were landed in South Carolina, where they were indentured to work in the cotton and indigo fields. By dint of much suffering they gained funds enough to buy two old ships and gained permission to leave the colony. Their ships, being unseaworthy, ran aground off Virginia.

There the authorities confiscated all of their belongings and forced them to put to sea again, where they ran aground on the Maryland coast. Finally, they were able to repair the ships, and took to the sea again, finally arriving in Canada after 1763. Of the 2,000 of this group who departed from Acadia, only 900 were alive by the time they reached Canada.

Georgia received 400 exiles, where they, too, were put to work to slave in the fields. In 1758, they received permission to leave, and bought a ship to take them back to Canada, where fewer than 100 finally arrived.

Some 60 per cent of the exiles died before they were repatriated, and there were many in every English colony who were never returned because of age, infirmity, illness or other reasons. Particularly melancholy was the fate of hundreds of orphaned children who had been separated from their parents in Nova Scotia, or whose parents died later. There was no place for them to go. Most of them died, and those who survived grew up as Englishmen and Englishwomen. Their descendants today usually do not know the history of their ancestors, nor that they carry Acadian names.

In Nova Scotia, too, the fugitives who escaped the ships were hunted down by the English and the Indians. The English put bounties on the Acadians and paid for the scalps of Acadians and their Micmac Indian allies.

On May 14, 1756, Lawrence set up a bounty of 30 pounds sterling for each male scalp over 16, and 25 for younger males or women and children. Although this was ostensibly limited to Indians, in practice the English paid the bounties without inquiring into the race of the original owners of the scalps.

The Rev. Hugh Graham, a Protestant minister in Nova Scotia, reported, «A party of Rangers brought in one day 25 scalps, pretending they were Indians, and the commanding officer gave orders that the bounty should be paid.» When the man objected, he was told that «the French are all supposed to be out of the country, and ...there is a necessity of winking at such things.»

The Acadian exiles scattered along the Atlantic coast by their British oppressors naturally made every effort to escape their cruel fate. The British colonists, hostile to everything French, made no effort to restrain them, but also made no effort to help them. The only exception was Maryland, where the Acadians were made welcome, and where many of them settled.

For others, however, their only hope lay in escaping to French territory. They had a choice of four refuges. They could return to Canada, which after the peace treaty of 1763 was in British hands. They could sail to French colonies in the West Indies, such as St. Domingue, Martinique and Guadeloupe. They could go to France. They could go to Louisiana.

All four refuges received their share of the Acadian exiles, but the largest majority finally came to Louisiana. Those exiles in the Southern colonies of the Carolinas and Georgia were, of course, nearest to Louisiana, and they seem to have been among the first to arrive.

Many of them set out for the Mississippi, either by horse and wagon or by riverboat. Some of those in Pennsylvania floated down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to French territory.

They kept no records, so there is no way of being certain who were the first to arrive, how many they were or from which colony they originated. It may well be, too, that some of the Acadians who originally fled to Canada were able to make their way to Louisiana by retracing LaSalle's route. But history is silent as to the details.

When they arrived, they probably settled along the shores of the Mississippi, north of the German Coast. Some of them later, perhaps, moved to join other Acadian refugees in the Opelousas and Attakapas areas. It is impossible to ascertain their numbers or to trace their routes, but word-of-mouth tradition has preserved several narratives of overland expeditions making the long and dangerous trip through the wilderness, exposed to hunger and thirst, exposure and Indian hostility.

Acadians who first left the Atlantic Coast colonies for the West Indies also turned their faces to Louisiana when they discovered that the tropical climate and the slave-oriented society of the «Sugar Islands» did not meet their liking.

In 1763, Charles Aubry, the military commandant in Louisiana, reported 60 Acadian families had arrived from St. Domingue, and that there were already so many Acadians in Louisiana that «we do not speak of them in the hundreds anymore, but in the thousands.»

When the Treaty of 1763 was signed, many Acadians who had been imprisoned in Nova Scotia were released. Their farms were now occupied by English colonists, however, and they were forced to seek new homesteads and new means of livelihood elsewhere.

Some of them went to St. Pierre and Miquelon, two small islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence that were still French possessions. Still others went to the West Indies and to Louisiana.

In 1764, a large group of these newly released Acadians, led by Joseph Broussard (dit Beausoleil), migrated to the West Indies. They had not been there long, however, before they were stricken by plague in that fever-ridden island. They decided to come to Louisiana, and when they arrived, Louisiana authorities gave them permission to settle around the Poste des Attakapas, in the southwestern part of the colony.

From these original settlers and others who followed them, there descended the present-day inhabitants of St. Martin, Lafayette, Iberia, Vermilion and St. Mary parishes.

We have no record of the dates of the arrival of the Acadians in the Attakapas country, but their chief leader, Broussard dit Beausoleil, signed a contract with a retired French army captain, Antoine Bernard d'Hauterive, who agreed to supply the Acadians with the beginnings of a livestock herd.

In addition to Beausoleil, the contract signed on April 4, 1765, contained the signature of Pierre Arcenaud, Alexandre Broussard, Jean-Baptiste Broussard, Victor Broussard, Jean Dugas, Joseph Guillebeau and Oliver Thibadau.

Beausoleil died in October of the same year, probably from the plague that seems to have accompanied the Acadians from St. Domingue.

Among other Acadians whose deaths were recorded in the official registers in the St. Martin Parish courthouse, were François Arcenaux; Joseph Bellefontaine; Augustin Bergeron; Sylvain Breaux; Alexandre Broussard and his wife, Marguierite Thibodeaux; Victor Broussard and his wife, Isabelle LeBlanc; Jean Dugas and his wife, Marie-Charlotte Gaudin; Joseph Girouard; Jacques Hugon; René Robiceaux; and Charles Thibodeaux's widow, Brigitte Breaux.

The registers also announce the christening of Anne Thibodeaux, daughter of Olivier Thibodeaux and Madeleine Broussard. This notice was signed by the Rev. Jean François, who signed himself as *curé de Nouvelle Acadie des Attakapas.*

Throughout the 1760's, Acadians continued to arrive in Louisiana from Canada, Nova Scotia and the West Indies, and joined their confreres who had already settled in the colony.

While many of the Acadian exiles in the English colonies came to Louisiana, others asked to be sent to France. This was particularly true of those in the northern and central colonies. Also, those Acadians held as prisoners of war in England were sent to France upon the signing of the Treaty of 1763.

In August of 1763, for example, 660 Acadians in Connecticut petitioned colonial authorities to be sent to France. There were 249 in New York and 280 in the Carolinas who also asked for French refuge. Another 187 families in Georgia and 383 in Pennsylvania were returned to France.

Of some 1,500 Acadians originally sent to Virginia, 866 survived to be returned to France. After the end of hostilities, the British themselves sent 2,452 Acadians, whom they had been holding as prisoners of war, to France. The bulk of the Acadian exiles settled in Normandy, Brittany, Aunis and Guyène. For 10 years they subsisted there, hoping for some governmental program to furnish them with farmlands, or to permit them to settle elsewhere.

Attempts to settle the exiles in the interior of France fell through because there were no arable lands available in that country. As a result, most of the Acadians clustered in the seacoast towns and subsisted upon an allowance of six cents per day per person provided them by the French government.

It remained for Spain to come to the rescue of these Acadians.

In 1762, when they realized they were losing their war with England, French officials ceded the colony of Louisiana to Spain. It was a secret pact, which served two purposes. It kept the British from seizing Louisiana along with Canada and it rewarded the Spanish government for the help rendered to France during the war.

The Acadians had not been in France for many months before they began to consider Louisiana as a possible refuge. These feelings grew as the Acadians became progressively more disillusioned with the failure of the French government to find lands for them.

With the blessings of French officialdom, Acadian leaders sought the assistance of the Spanish ambassador in Paris, Don Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea, Count de Aranda.

The first contact was made by Peyroux de la Coudrenière, a resident of Nantes who had spent seven years and massed a fortune in Louisiana. He knew that the Acadians already in Louisiana would welcome their brethren in France and would assist them in settling new homes along the Mississippi and its tributaries.

King Charles III not only gave his consent to admit the Acadians to Louisiana, but agreed to assume the expense of transporting them to the colony and settling them in new homes.

After lengthy negotiating, during which some of the Acadian leaders almost lost heart, the French crown gave permission for the Acadians to leave. More negotiations were necessary, however, before arrangements were completed. Who would pay the debts the Acadians had incurred during their long stay in France? What should be the fate of French women who had married Acadian men? And vice versa? Finally, all was settled and commissioners were dispatched to gather the signatures of those who wished to be repatriated in Louisiana.

A total of 1,508 Acadians registered

their wishes to leave for Louisiana. Ships then had to be obtained and supplies gathered. More signatures were sought. The Spanish authorities were eager to receive as many Acadians as they could get because of these exiles' proven ability as farmers. Louisiana was greatly in need of men and women who could not only take care of their own needs, but produce a surplus.

In addition, Spanish authorities knew that these new colonists would act as an implacable bulwark against the encroachments of the English who, after the Treaty of 1763, had taken over not only Canada but also all of the land east of the Mississippi as far south as Baton Rouge.

Finally, enough ships were obtained, but the winter months were judged too severe to put to sea, so another delay incurred. More negotiations had to be undertaken, and the masters of the ships had to be reimbursed for their long wait.

Finally, on May 10, 1785, after 29 years of aimless exile, the first group of 156 Acadians left France and sailed for Louisiana under the frigate *Le Bon Papa.* The frigate made the voyage to New Orleans in 81 days, anchoring at the city on July 29, 1785. Only one death, that of an infant girl, marred the voyage.

A royal order had been dispatched to Don Esteban Miro, Spanish governor in New Orleans, ordering him to welcome the Acadians, settle them with the greatest speed, see to their needs and grant them tillable land, good homes, farming tools and a subsidy until they could support themselves.

Anselmo Broussard was named overseer for the Acadians, and Martin Navarro, the Spanish superintendent, was given the general supervision of the entire colonization project. They set up an «Acadian camp» at New Orleans to care for the immigrants until they could be settled on farms in the interior.

Once all arrangements had been made, 37 of the 38 families arriving on *Le Bon Papa* were given farms on the banks of the Mississippi at Manchac. The other family chose Bayou Lafourche.

Le Bon Papa was the first of seven ships arriving from France. In quick succession there arrived *La Bergère* with 73 families on August 15 and *Le Beaumont* on August 19, with 45 families. These families were quickly settled at Baton Rouge, Lafourche and the Poste des Attakapas.

The *St. Rémy* left France on June 20 with 325 passengers and 16 stowaways aboard. The ship was badly overcrowded, and smallpox broke out, killing 31 passengers at sea and in camp at New Orleans. Nueva Galvez, Lafourche and the Attakapas country attracted these families.

La Amistad arrived November 7 with 68 families, followed by *La Villa de Arcangel* with 53 families. The latter vessel ran out of supplies and ran aground at Belize. Navarro rushed food, water and medical supplies to the ship, and she finally arrived at New Orleans. Most of the families in these two ships were settled at Lafourche and Bayou des Ecores.

The last ship to arrive, *La Caroline,* anchored on December 27, and its passengers were settled in Lafourche.

Altogether, the seven ships brought a total of 1,624 Acadians, plus a few Frenchmen, to Louisiana. Spain and Louisiana thus shared in the largest single trans-Atlantic colonization project in the history of the North American continent.

The Spanish government spent more than sixty-one thousand dollars in bringing the Acadians to Louisiana and some forty thousand dollars after they had arrived. These new immigrants doubled the number of Acadians in the colony, the others, of course, having come from Canada and the English colonies.

Thus, after many years of exiles, the Acadians finally found new homes for themselves and proceeded to carve a *Nouvelle Acadie* in the Louisiana wilderness.

Epilogue

During the era of French dominion, «Louisiana» meant much more than what is the state today. In Iberville's time, «Louisiana» meant all of the vast territory drained by the Misssissippi-Missouri river systems, except that area east of the Mississippi already in the hands of European nations.

French influence was strong in this region, and French explorers were the first white men to reach most of the states that now make up the vast territory.

Henri de Tonti and his fur trappers and traders began to make regular voyages on the Mississippi and its tributaries shortly after Iberville founded Fort Maurepas. Other trappers and traders drifted downriver from Canada, and spread throughout the region, moving up tributary rivers on their facile canoes. In many instances, they found that French missionaries had preceded them. The French in Canada regularly sent out missionaries – mostly Jesuits – to make further attempts at converting the Indian tribes to Christianity.

That this effort was extensive is attested to by the fact that in 1721 the Rev. Pierre de Charlevoix was sent downriver from Canada for an inspection trip to the Jesuit missions. Thus, during the decades following the founding of a French settlement on the Gulf of Mexico, dozens of anonymous missionaries and *coureurs de bois* found their way west from Canada and southwest through the western reaches of the great river basin.

Pierre Radisson and Medard des Groseilliers explored beyond the upper Mississippi in 1659, and François and Louis Verendye explored the Sioux country in 1742-43, penetrating as far west as the Dakotas.

Pierre Laclede came north from New Orleans to found St. Louis in 1763, two years before Ste. Genevieve, the second town in Missouri, was founded.

French trading posts were established on sites which were to become St. Joseph, Lafayette, Fort Wayne and Fort Clarke in Indiana; Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Fort Charles in Illinois; and Omaha in Nebraska.

Jean du Sable established a trading post on the spot that was to become Chicago in the 1770s.

Le Page du Pratz traveled in Louisiana in 1718, to be followed by Drs. Louis and Jean Prat in the 1720s and 1730s. André Michaux reported extensively on Louisiana fauna in the 1770s, and Georges Collot studied the area in 1796.

Throughout the region, however,

French traders and trappers, along with the Jesuit missionaries, formed the spearhead of civilization in the Mississippi Valley.

The life of the *coureurs de bois* in the Mississippi Valley was essentially the same as it had been in Canada. Their work was hard and their lives perilous. It was their calling to penetrate the unknown. They lived solitary lives and died unknown deaths, to be buried in unremembered graves. Even their names are forgotten. But they were the pioneers who found trails through unknown country and who discovered the beaver waters, handling the trapping, the skinning and the preparation of the pelts. They made contact with unknown tribes of Indians and, sometimes in the face of great difficulty, opened trade with them or settled among them to preach the Gospel. They lived by their wits off the country, facing the thousand nameless hazards of the wilderness, including Indian hostility, the elements and disease. And as a sideline to their work they thoroughly explored the vast areas west, northwest and southwest, from the Mississippi River to the Mexican border and the Pacific Ocean.

The trappers and the missionaries were followed by the traders, and they, in turn, gave way to permanent settlers. All of these were French, and they left their marks if not their names upon all of the vast territories west of the Mississippi. Their work, too, is a part of Louisiana's French heritage, and although their very identities have been lost to history, their handiwork has survived them in the broad acres and the busy cities of a dozen or more American states.

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HAITI

HISTORICAL SETTING*

*Until recently, Haitian emigration from the island had been minimal or of a transient nature, e. g., researchers, diplomats, or students who always returned, or a few immigrants to Louisiana. However, an influx of Haitians into metropolitan areas, including those of the Northeast, has been visible since 1959. Hence, we felt that a background article about Haiti would be appropriate.

Haitian society reflects, for the most part, the historic impact of French colonization in the eighteenth century and the importation of slaves from Africa. There are virtually no traces of Spanish culture or of the culture of the Taino (Arawak) Indians. The official language is French, and the language spoken throughout the country is Creole, a dialect based on French. French influence is apparent in the educational system, and the elite mulattoes - descendants of black and French progenitors - traditionally regard Paris as the world's cultural capital. The agricultural economy is based mainly on small plots carved out of the French plantations that flourished in the eighteenth century. The transition from a prosperous plantation economy to a nation of peasants, proud of their landownership, began early in the nineteenth century, when rulers of the newly independent country cut up large estates and parceled the land out to people who had recently freed themselves from slavery.

West African influences are apparent in the religion of the majority of the people who, despite nominal adherence to Roman Catholicism, believe in voodooism, the Haitian version of West African religious beliefs. Throughout the countryside, the voodoo priests are community leaders who exercise significant power over the people.

Haiti was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1492 when, in the course of his first voyage in search of a route to Asia, he landed on the northern shore of the island, which he named La Isla Española, later known as Hispaniola. This island became the first permanent European colony in the Americas (Santo Domingo). The western part of the colony of Santo Domingo was to become a French colony (Saint-Domingue), which in 1804 became the Republic of Haiti, while the eastern part eventually became the Dominican Republic.

Unions of French and blacks in colonial times produced a mulatto element that became an elite class. Throughout the history of the republic the rivalry of mulattoes and blacks has resulted in struggles for power and prestige involving assassinations, insurrections, and civil wars. Interest in Haiti's strategic position on the Windward Passage has brought foreign warships into Haitian waters. The United States' concern for the territorial integrity of Haiti during World War I and its desire to protect investments in a country that was in a state of chaos triggered the military occupation that lasted from 1915 to 1934. The occupation forces brought many benefits to the people in the form of public works, health programs, and public utilities, but after the departure of the United States forces these were allowed to deteriorate.

During the early years of the republic, powerful leaders undertook to direct economic and political life along definite lines, but it soon became obvious that planned social structures would not remain intact. Subsequent developments in the political and economic life of the country were largely unplanned, and in the twentieth century standards of living, compared with those of many other countries, were low.

Turbulence has played a prominent role in the history of Haiti, beginning with the annihilation of the Tainos by the Spaniards and the establishment of the first permanent settlement by French and English pirates. The slave rebellion that drove out the French at the end of the eighteenth century, invasions of the Dominican Republic, revolutions supported by mercenary Haitian guerrillas, and rulers who have exercised dictatorial powers ruthlessly - all have contributed to instability and uncertainty in the lives of the people. After the rise to power of Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina in 1957, the peasant continued to cling to his small plot of land; the mulatto elite maintained its prestigious position; and black leaders remained politically powerful.

Discovery and Conquest

It was in Hispaniola that Columbus conceived a colonial policy for Spain that left a lasting imprint on the life in the New World. Finding friendly Taino Indians who wore golden ornaments, Columbus predicted that Europeans would gain «profitable things without number,» and he speculated on the great opportunity for spreading Christianity that would result from his discovery.

After founding the town and fortress of Navidad on the northern coast, Columbus returned to Spain, leaving about forty men with instructions to avoid trouble with the Indians, to seek gold, and to explore the island. After an enthusiastic reception in Spain, Columbus sailed with seventeen ships; 1,500 settlers; soldiers and missionaries; and supplies of agricultural implements, cattle, and seeds. He found Navidad deserted. The settlers, who had treated the Indians ruthlessly, had been killed.

Columbus then founded Isabela on the northern coast of what is now the Dominican Republic. The settlers suffered from disease and fought off attacks by Indians, thousands of whom were killed. In an effort to build a handsome city, Columbus ordered his followers to perform manual labor - a command deeply resented by men who considered themselves gentlemen. These malcontents plotted against Columbus and denounced him to the authorities in Spain. The Spaniards' cruel treatment of the Indians generated revolts that were mercilessly crushed, and many Indians fled to the mountains.

Isabela, where Columbus' brother Bartolome was serving as Columbus' deputy, was in a virtual state of anarchy, and the prospects for the colony were gloomy. In June 1496 Columbus, intent on defending himself against his detractors, returned to Spain, where he waited two years before obtaining ships for a third voyage.

When Columbus arrived at the town of Santo Domingo, a new settlement founded by his brother, many Spaniards in the northern part of the island were openly revolting against Bartolome. In an effort to mollify the rebellious colonists, Columbus established a system of exploitation that was to become a basis for social institutions throughout the Spanish colonies in America. This was the scheme of *repartimientos*, under which a settler was granted a large tract of land, along with the Indians who lived on it, to exploit as he pleased. In order to rid themselves of a gold tribute that the Spaniards had been demanding, the Indian chieftains turned their subjects over to the colonists.

News of dissension among the colonists, however, had prompted the Spanish king and queen, Ferdinand and Isabella, to name Francisco Bobadillo chief justice to investigate conditions in the colony. On his arrival at Santo Domingo in August 1500 he found a number of colonists, who had revolted against Columbus, swinging from the gallows and several others about to be hanged. Bobadillo ordered the arrest of Columbus and his brother Bartolome and sent them to Spain in chains.

Columbus was released six weeks after his arrival in Spain and was received by Ferdinand and Isabella; but, without consulting Columbus, the monarchs sent Nicolas de Ovando to Hispaniola as governor. Ovando imported the first blacks into Hispaniola, fought Indians who had managed to maintain their independence, and built up the city of Santo Domingo. Columbus, however, persuaded Ferdinand and Isabella to furnish ships for a fourth voyage, in the course of which he coasted the shores of Central America, was wrecked on the island of Jamaica, and was rescued by Ovando. The man who, in the words of Hubert Herring, had made the Caribbean Sea «a Spanish lake» returned to Spain and died in 1506.

The *repartimiento* failed to improve the lot of the Indians, and in 1503 the Spanish crown instituted the *encomienda* sytem, under which all the land theoretically became the property of the crown, but the colonist to whom land was granted was entitled to certain days of labor from his Indian tenants. He was obliged to look after their physical wellbeing, to instruct them in Christianity, and to pay a tribute to the crown. Although the *encomienda* did not involve actual possession of the land, grantees were able in one way or another to become owners of the tracts assigned to them and to reduce the Indians to a state of virtual slavery.

Although it was to persist for many years in the Spanish colonies on the mainland and was not outlawed until the end of the eighteenth century, the *encomienda* system in Hispaniola did not last long. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Taino population, estimated at about 1 million in 1492, had been reduced to about 500. The need for a new labor force led to the importation of increasing numbers of Negro slaves, principally for the cultivation of sugarcane, and by 1520 Negro labor was used almost exclusively in Hispaniola.

Throughout the island each landowner exercised virtually complete authority over his estate, and there was little contact between the hinterland and Santo Domingo, the capital city. Santo Domingo was principally concerned with its relations with Spain, which furnished supplies, administrators, and settlers for the colonies, and with the continent, which provided treasure for the crown. It was a way station for traffic between Spain and continental America, and a jumping-off point from which the Spaniards explored the New World.

In 1509 Columbus' son, Diego, was appointed governor of the colony. With a view to curbing the power of the governor, the crown in 1511 established a new political institution called the *audiencia* a tribunal consisting originally of three judges with jurisdiction over all the West Indian Islands, where it became the highest court of appeals. During the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries *audiencias*, established in many parts of the Spanish Empire, became the continuing core of royal authority; but the failure of some to carry out administrative and disciplinary duties assigned to them led to the appointment of viceroys, who personified the power and the prestige of the king. In 1535 Hispaniola became part of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, which included Central America and much of North America.

After the conquest of Mexico by Hernan Cortés in 1521 and the discovery in Mexico and Peru of great wealth in gold and silver, the prestige of Santo Domingo began to decline. Alluvial deposits of gold were depleted, and the Indian labor force was dying off. Large numbers of colonists left for Mexico and Peru, and the population of Hispaniola declined sharply. Agriculture was neglected, and Spain became preoccupied with the larger and richer colonies on the mainland. According to the Haitian historian, J. C. Dorsainvil, the population of the colony in 1545 amounted to no more than 1,100 persons.

Saint-Domingue

The Spaniards neglected Hispaniola, but French and English pirates, intent on attacking Spanish shipping, established a base on Tortue Island (Ile de la Tortue), better known as Tortuga, in or around 1625. In 1641 they founded Port Margot on the western end of Hispaniola and before long had gained a foothold in the surrounding territory. The French then drove out the English, and, along with piratical operations, occupied themselves with hunting wild cattle and hogs and with farming. The settlement prospered in spite of Spanish efforts to destroy it, and in 1664, Louis XIV, king of France, placed the territory under the control of the French West India Company and appointed a former pirate, Bertrand d'Ogeron, as governor.

To build up the country the governor encouraged agriculture and brought young women from France to marry the men. Among a number of small towns founded in western Hispaniola, called Saint-Domingue by the French, was Cap Français (now Cap-Haïtien), laid out in 1670. In 1697, under the Treaty of Ryswick, Spain ceded Saint-Domingue to France; and a governor general, who served as the principal royal authority, and an intendant, the chief judicial and financial officer, established their authority over the inhabitants.

The population of Saint-Domingue at the end of the seventeenth century included about 6,000 adult white and mulatto males and approximately 50,000 black slaves. Although mulattoes were, strictly speaking, the first generation offspring of Negroes and whites, the term was applied to their descendants. By 1775 the slave population was estimated at approximately 250,000; and the resident white population, at more than 30,000. Under a decree issued by Louis XIV in 1685, certain mulattoes *(gens de couleur)* achieved their freedom and French citizenship; and at the end of the eighteenth century these mulattoes, also known as freemen *(affranchis)*, numbered about 28,000.

During the eighteenth century Saint-Domingue became one of the richest colonies in the French Empire. The colonists raised sugar, coffee, cacao, cotton and indigo - products that were exported to France and eventually to the United States. Roads were built; handsome houses were constructed; and irrigation was developed. The planters lived in luxury, and many spent much of their time in Paris. Many freemen acquired great wealth and aroused the jealousy of the *petits blancs*, the whites who had failed to become *grands blancs* – whites who held high office, owned large plantations, or were wealthy merchants.

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century freemen owned plantations in all parts of the colony, and one fertile parish in the south (Jérémie) was almost entirely in their hands. They owned large numbers of slaves, sent their children to France for their education, and in many cases were accepted in the society of the *grands blancs*. Eventually the rising tide of color prejudice influenced *grands blancs*, and discriminatory laws were passed by the colonial authorities prohibiting most freemen from carrying firearms and imposing other restrictions. The freeman was not allowed to hold any office superior to those held by a white person and was barred from certain occupations. He was required to wear clothing different from that worn by white people and was segregated when he attended church or the theater.

When news of the French Revolution (1789) reached Saint-Domingue, the freemen hoped to win back their rights as French citizens. The whites, on the other hand, saw an opportunity to gain independence for the colony under white rule. Early in 1791 a young mulatto, Vincent Ogé, encouraged by members of an organization in France called the Friends of the Blacks *(Les Amis des Noirs)*, led a demonstration against the colonial governor and was put to death. Before long, the colony was torn with riots involving all groups. Slaves deserted their masters and organized bands that burned and pillaged throughout the colony. The insurrection that started in August 1791 resulted in the massacre of every white man, woman and child on whom the slaves could lay their hands. All whites who escaped this fate fled the colony.

One of the leaders of the slave rebellion was Toussaint Louverture, an exslave whose French master had allowed him leisure for self-education and for the acquisition of a private fortune. He had considerable knowledge of military tactics and possessed significant qualities of leadership and political acumen. In the course of the slave rebellion Toussaint crossed the border from Saint-Domingue into Santo Domingo and joined Spanish troops in their battles with French forces - a consequence of the French revolutionary wars in Europe. He rose to high command in the Spanish forces; when France announced the emancipation of slaves in Saint-Domingue in 1793, however, he returned to that colony and joined the French units fighting British and Spanish forces, which had attacked Saint-Domingue by land and by sea. With the support of Negro forces led by Toussaint, the French drove out the Spanish and British invaders.

In 1795 Spain ceded Santo Domingo to France, and Toussaint had himself appointed commander-in-chief of all French forces in the colony. He assumed dictatorial powers and in 1801 promulgated a constitution that in theory emancipated all slaves in Hispaniola but in fact provided for further importation of African slaves. The constitution also provided that the Roman

Catholic Church, which had been established in Santo Domingo by the Spanish and in Saint-Domingue by the French, would be the official church and that whites and blacks would be equal before the law. Toussaint declared the whole island of Hispaniola an independent nation and was made president for life.

Independence

Napoléon Bonaparte, who had become first consul of France in 1799, refused to recognize Toussaint's rule in the colony; he dispatched an expeditionary force of 23,000 men that, after meeting strong resistance from Toussaint's armies and suffering from the ravages of yellow fever, brought about Toussaint's defeat. Toussaint died in a French prison in 1803, but in November of that year the French forces remaining in the colony surrendered to General Jean-Jacques Dessalines; on January 1, 1804, Dessalines proclaimed the independence of Haiti - the first colony in Latin America to sever its political ties with the Old World. Virtually all the whites had left, and the blacks were in power. A struggle for position was about to begin between the mulattoes and the ruling blacks.

Dessalines, an exslave who assumed the title of governor general for life, had no followers with experience in government. On his orders, most of the few whites who were left were killed. The fighting in 1802 and 1803 had virtually ruined agricultural projects and plantations. The population of the country had dropped about 380,000; and women outnumbered men by almost three to two. Dessalines established an economic organization that was, in effect, based on serfdom. All people except soldiers were «attached as cultivators to a plantation», a system which gave the people no opportunity to become familiar with occupations other than tilling the soil. Dessalines' system, sternly administered, furnished the roots for the peasantry that would soon become a typical form of Haitian life.

Dessalines used his troops to enforce discipline among the workers on the land and forbade individual enterprise. He tried to gain control of most of the land in the country, but when he died many of the mulatto landowners who had held estates in colonial times retained their properties. Dissatisfaction with his callous, autocratic rule burgeoned, and in October 1806 he was ambushed and killed near Port-au-Prince. Utilizing a display of force, which created fear among the people, Dessalines had succeeded in establishing a state.

After the death of Dessalines, the country was split under separate rulers. In the north Henry Christophe, the last of the revolutionary generals, ruled from 1808 to 1820. Born a black slave in the English Caribbean island of St. Christopher, he had settled in Haiti and was one of 800 Haitians who had volunteered for service under the Marquis de Lafayette in the American revolutionary war. An admirer of things English, he spelled his first name in the English manner rather than the French. He invited English scientists to visit his kingdom and tried, without success, to introduce English agricultural methods. In 1811 he had himself crowned King Henry I and established a royal court filled with barons, counts, and knights. He built the magnificent royal palace of Sans Souci and, on a mountaintop, the imposing citadel of La Ferrière.

Christophe saw to it that everyone worked, and men assigned to the fields performed their tasks under military discipline. As a result of his energetic measures, profitable agriculture and commerce were revived, and the people probably enjoyed greater security than they had ever known before. Christophe's rule combined military despotism with certain paternalistic elements and territorial feudalism based upon the noble class that he had created. Christophe's stern discipline generated dissatisfaction, however, and, eventually, rebellion. In 1820, according to legend, Christophe, a benevolent despot, killed himself with a silver bullet.

The rival regime in the south was headed by Alexandre Pétion, a mulatto who served with the title of president from 1808 to 1818. Educated in France, Pétion had a certain admiration for democratic ideals and allowed the people to enjoy unprecedented liberty of action. He confiscated the large French plantations and parceled out small plots of land to soldiers and officers. Pétion's generosity, however motivated, changed the entire agricultural base of the society. No longer willing to cultivate coffee, indigo, and sugar, most of the people in the south grew garden crops for their own use. Although profits from export crops declined, the common man, secure on his small plot, probably considered himself better off than ever before. In terms of national prosperity, however, the results were calamitous. Customs and tax revenues declined; paper money without backing was issued; and a few foreign loans were obtained at excessive interest rates. Nevertheless, the people in the south enjoyed freedom, while the people in Christophe's kingdom lived as serfs. Pétion, who died in 1818, was popular with the people he endeavored to serve.

After the death of Christophe, Jean Pierre Boyer, who had succeeded Pétion in the south in 1818, reunited the north and the south and, in addition, annexed the eastern part of Hispaniola where, in 1822, the people of the colony of Santo Domingo had driven out the Spaniards. Boyer, like Pétion, was a mulatto educated in France, who had served in the Pétion government. When he took office, he continued the distribution of small parcels of land and left the people to their own devices. When, in 1825, Boyer's government approved a French ordinance that recognized Haiti's independence in return for trade privileges and a large indemnity, Boyer hoped to ward off another invasion by the French, but black leaders were enraged by the fact that these concessions had been made by a mulatto-dominated government. The blacks were also angered by Boyer's negotiation of a French loan to pay the indemnity, a transaction that made it necessary to issue paper money to meet domestic needs.

When the internal situation continued to deteriorate, Boyer abandoned his moderate rule and adopted the stern tactics of Dessalines and Christophe, forcing the peasants to plow and harvest under armed guard. His inept rule lasted until 1843, when he was overthrown and exiled by a conspiracy of members of his own social group - urban mulattoes. In the ensuing turmoil the people of Santo Domingo threw off Haitian rule, and the Dominican Republic was established in the eastern part of Hispaniola. After trying unsuccessfully to establish a stable government, the mulattoes in Haiti lost their power to unlettered Negro leaders, and for the next seventy-two years Negroes were in almost complete control of the country.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Haiti reached an economic impasse. Toussaint Louverture's system of forced labor had generated a temporary increase in the colony's productivity, but many peasants had fled to the hills and settled on land that they regarded as their own. A system of sharecropping had been initiated by white émigrés whom Toussaint had encouraged to return. Under Dessalines certain freemen who were allowed to possess plantations had continued the system of sharecropping instituted by Toussaint. Thus for many years forced labor, squatting, and sharecropping had persisted as the basis of agricultural production. Pétion's large-scale distribution of land, continued by Boyer, had contributed to the deterioration of the country's agricultural economy. Most individual holdings were too small for sugar and indigo cultivation, and sugar had all but disappeared from the country's list of exports. The major export was coffee, a crop that was more easily cultivated on small farms.

The lives of the people were profoundly influenced by voodooism (*vodun*), the religion based largely on West African beliefs and practices, including ancestor worship, performance of propitiatory rites, and belief in communication by trance with deities. Although the Catholic missionaries brought to Hispaniola by the Spaniards and to Saint-Domingue by the French had made nominal converts of the slaves, voodooism's hold on the blacks was usually stronger than the influence of the church and was to continue into the twentieth century as a major element in Haitian life.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the stratification of society that was to last into the twentieth century had clearly evolved. The elite were, for the most part, the descendants of the freemen, or *gens de couleur*, of the colonial era. When the French colonial aristocracy was destroyed, they had acquired much of the wealth of the colonial elite and under Pétion and Boyer had enjoyed social and political dominance. When the Negroes came to power in 1843, the elite were compelled to console themselves with a belief in their social superiority. A deep chasm separated the elite from the masses, who now constituted a peasant society largely illiterate and poor.

At the end of the Boyer regime it was apparent that the mulatto effort to rule the country as an elite class while making economically damaging concessions to the predominantly black population had ended in failure. Not only had organized cultivation of cacao, cotton, and sugarcane for export ceased, but irrigation works had fallen into disrepair, tidy coastal towns had become villages of wooden houses, and the countryside was dotted with African-type huts of mud and wattles. The elite mulattoes had abandoned their plantations and, lacking any direct involvement in agriculture, had shown little interest in maintaining irrigation systems and roads or in promoting rural education. Crowding into the cities, they turned their backs on the peasants. Color prejudice grew and became a permanent feature of Haitian life.

Years of Turmoil, 1843-1915

The seventy-two years following the exile of Boyer were marked by the rise and fall of twenty-two dictators and recurring civil disturbances. Between 1844 and 1859 the Negro army, determined to reduce the power of mulattoes in government, placed four Negro presidents in office. One of these was Soulouque (1847-59), who, assuming the title of Emperor Faustin I, made two unsuccessful attempts to reconquer Santo Domingo, killed many Haitian mulatto leaders, and assigned illiterate blacks to public positions. He practiced voodoo openly and devoted hours to elaborate court ceremonies daily. Opposed by forces led by General Fabre Nicolas Geffrard, Soulouque fled the country in 1859.

Fabre Geffrard, described as «neither black nor mulatto» (the son of a black father and a mulatto mother), served as president from 1858 to 1867. He encouraged the cultivation of cotton; established an agricultural credit corporation; promoted public works such as reservoirs and gaslight companies; and opened schools of architecture, painting, and law. He favored the Concordat of 1860, under which the breach with the Vatican, created by Dessalines at the beginning of the century, was mended; and educational and charitable orders such as the Sisters of St. Joseph de Cluny (Soeurs de Saint-Joseph de Cluny) and the Brothers of Christian Instruction (Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne) were allowed to establish themselves in Haiti. Geffrard's efforts to improve the lot of the people failed to prevent an insurrection, however, as he was driven into exile in 1867.

Louis Félicité Lysius Salomon, president between 1879 and 1888, who had served as Soulouque's minister of finance, introduced monetary reforms, but these were offset by the issuance of quantities of paper money that led to inflation. His efforts to effect agricultural reforms were unsuccessful. Among constructive projects inaugurated during his term of office were improvement of communications with the outside world, effected by the laying of a submarine cable. Nevertheless he was bitterly opposed by the mulattoes, who mounted an insurrection in 1883. In reprisal, Salomon executed so many mulattoes in Port-au-Prince that business came to a virtual standstill. Then, in 1889, when he attempted to extend his tenure of office beyond the constitutional limit, he was faced with another civil war and was forced into exile.

Another president during the 1843-1915 period who is remembered for efforts to improve conditions is Florvil Hyppolite, in office from 1889 to 1896. A dark-skinned member of the elite, he established the Ministry of Public Works, which built bridges, introduced telegraph and telephone systems, and constructed new marketplaces in Port-au-Prince and other cities. As a result of an increase in the price of coffee, the country enjoyed a short period of relative prosperity, which prompted the government and merchants to indulge in extravagant expenditures. This led to a deteriorating financial situation and growing dissatisfaction among Hyppolite's rivals. In 1891, Hyppolite mercilessly suppressed an uprising in Jacmel, in the south; but five years later, he died while leading his troops to punish the rebellious Jacmelians again.

During a period of almost three-quarters of a century after the Boyer regime, only three of the twenty-two presidents were mulattoes. The mulatto elite of necessity adjusted to existing conditions–controlling the business sector, indulging in cultural pursuits and, because of their superior education, serving in certain government positions. Political consciousness and activity were confined almost entirely to the army, the townspeople, the elite, and those who aspired to elite status. The great mass of the peasants were little affected by reform movements, revolutions, counterrevolutions, financial disasters, or foreign relations. During this period Haiti evolved into a country of peasants cultivating small plots of land, which, when divided among heirs, became increasingly smaller.

At the end of the nineteenth century Haiti lacked a significant educational system. No president had seen fit to introduce universal education, and some powerful members of the elite expressed doubts regarding the educability of the black masses. Lacking education, the people had no opportunity to compare Haiti with other countries or to participate in political discussion, and they were easily swayed by agitators who opposed the incumbent president. A politician planning a revolution could raise an army and take the field against the government after borrowing money from a merchant at approximately 100 percent interest, to be paid when the revolution succeeded.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century an important factor in the political life of the country was the use of mercenary guerrillas by revolutionary politicians aspiring to the presidency. Certain peasants, who found fighting and rapine an occupation more profitable than any other, were known as *cacos* in the north and as *piquets* in the south. Known as «kingmakers,» the *cacos* would make an agreement with a presidential aspirant under which, for a certain sum to be paid after a successful revolution and an opportunity to loot towns on the way to the capital, they would move down from the mountains and place a revolutionary leader in power. During the American intervention, initiated in 1915, *caco* leaders organized an uprising, which was suppressed by United States Marines after several years of guerrilla warfare. The marines' success was generally regarded as a death blow to the *cacos*.

Between 1843 and 1915 Haiti received little aid from foreign countries in solving its domestic problems, and for many years after independence it had been virtually isolated in the field of foreign relations. The first nation to recognize the country's independence was France – in 1825. At about the same time a British consul general was appointed, but the United States did not extend recognition until 1862, after which a coaling station for the United States West Indian Squadron was established at Cap-Haïtien. Between the termination of the United States Civil War and the intervention in 1915 Haiti was affected by the opposing interests of Great Britain, the United States, Germany, and France and by strained relations with the Dominican Republic.

Between 1908 and 1915, a period characterized by revolutions, assasinations, and insurrections, Haitian governments raised money through bond issues and unorthodox financial operations, driving the republic into political and financial bankruptcy. During this period seven men served briefly as president, most of them having seized power with the support of *cacos*. One was killed when the presidential palace was blown up; others fled the country; and the last was hacked to pieces by an infuriated mob. In 1915, when Germany was winning victories in World War I, there were rumors that Germany sought a naval base in Haiti, and Germans in Haiti who had lent large sums to finance *caco* revolts were asking their government for help. French owners of Haitian securities were pressing the Haitians for payment, and United States financial interest controlling Haiti's railroads and banking were concerned over the danger to their investments. In the face of these threats to United States interest in the Caribbean and bearing in mind United States responsibility for the Panama Canal, President Woodrow Wilson made the decision to intervene in Haiti.

United States Intervention, 1915-34

In 1914, there were frequent visits to Haitian ports by United States naval vessels. Marines from French, British, and German warships also went ashore to protect their countries' interests. In January 1915 Vilbrun Guillaume Sam marched toward Port-au-Prince at the head of a *caco* army and by March had established himself as president. An American admiral, William Caperton, whose ships were standing by, had warned Sam against violence but, when a rival *caco* army was reported on its way to the capital to overthrow the president, Sam threw his principal critics into prison and fled to the French Legation. More than 160 prisoners, including respected members of the elite, were killed, probably on Sam's orders. A mob then dragged Sam from the French Legation, tore his body apart, and marched through the city with the pieces. Admiral Caperton then landed with 300 marines from his cruisers.

Supported by additional forces the marines spread out over the country, disarmed the Haitian army, and opened recruiting offices for a native constabulary. This police force of about 2,400, commanded at the outset by 100 marine officers, was the nucleus of the future Haitian Guard *(Garde d'Haiti)*. Roads connecting the principal towns were built; clinics, hospitals, and telephone systems were established; and reservoirs and sewerage systems were constructed. Between 1915 and 1930, under presidents installed in office by the occupying forces, United States officials eliminated graft, collected taxes, introduced economies, and managed the treasury. The Haitian Guard proved to be the best constabulary in the history of the country, and United States engineers oversaw the construction of much-needed public works. The Americans organized a public health program and opened a school for farm leaders. The American presence was, however, resented by Haitians, who were angered by the affront to Haitian sovereignty, by Haitian army officers and politicians whose usual sources of income had dried up, and by *cacos* who, resenting the drafting of peasants for roadbuilding, staged an insurrection that was said to have cost the lives of 2,000 Haitians.

Haitians were angered by the terms of a treaty with the United States, reluctantly accepted by the Haitian government in 1915, which gave the United States control over the customs and over the gendarmerie. Most Haitians were unhappy over the fact that the occupying forces seemed to favor the mulattoes and to discriminate against blacks. In 1930 a commission appointed by President Herbert Hoover recommended that the incumbent Haitian president step down in favor of an interim government that would supervise a free election. The election brought Sténio Vincent to the presidency in 1930. The United States minister appointed by President Hoover was given the responsibility for bringing to an end the American occupation as rapidly as possible. When Franklin D. Roosevelt became president in 1933, the process was well underway. In 1934, President Roosevelt ordered withdrawal of the marines, and in 1941 a financial commission that had remained to protect United States investments was finally withdrawn.

Developments, 1934-57

The United States' occupying forces had shifted political responsibility from the blacks to relatively enlightened mulatto leaders, who ruled until 1946. The black masses, however, worked for a return to black leadership. Backed by the Haitian Guard, which had been organized by the United States' occupying forces, black leaders ousted a mulatto president and installed Dumarsais Estimé, who purged the government of mulatto officials and replaced them with blacks and who initiated reforms designed to benefit urban workers and to improve agriculture. He discharged the American debt and signed an agreement with the United States Export-Import Bank to finance a US6 million dollar irrigation and land-reclamation project in the Atribonite Valley. When, in 1950, he attempted to have the constitution amended to allow him to succeed himself, the army removed him from office and sent him out of the country.

Estimé's successor was Colonel Paul E. Magloire, a black leader and a powerful figure in the army, who seemed to enjoy the tacit approval of the elite along with the enthusiastic support of the black masses. In his inaugural address of December 6, 1950, President Magloire promised to safeguard rights guaranteed by the constitution, to give priority to irrigation projects, soil conservation, cooperatives, and independent planters, and to grant assistance to education. He took a stand against communism, persuaded the United States to expedite aid programs, and encouraged foreign investment. Total foreign trade increased in 1951 and 1952, largely as a result of high prices for exports stimulated by the Korean War. Magloire was accused of despotic rule and corruption, however, and in December 1956 he was overthrown. For nine months thereafter there were seven shaky governments, and in September 1957 François Duvalier, a former follower of Estimé who had refused to accept Magloire in 1950, was elected president.

LANGUAGES

Haiti has two national languages. Creole is the language of the common people but is understood and spoken throughout the society. French is the official national language and is understood and spoken only by upper and middle class urbanites. The differences in prestige, usage, and governmental policy surrounding the two languages highlight the polarity of the society and offer a partial explanation for the continuing isolation of 90 percent of the population.

Linguists have identified several factors influencing the users and usages of Creole and French. Approximately 7 percent of the population is bilingual, and the rest are monolingual in Creole. For this 7 percent, the two languages are used side by side and are frequently interchangeable within a sentence. French is always used in formal public occasions and is preferred in formal private situations as well. In informal situations, both public and private, Creole predominates. In addition to these social contexts, personality differences and change of style or mood will determine which language the speaker employs. A more relaxed and progressive bilingual indicates his identification with the black consciousness and the native culture through the usage of Creole, whereas a more conservative individual or a member of the rising middle class may insist on French in all situations.

The legendary stories attached to the

origins of Creole reflect the deprecatory attitude manifested by most Haitians. Until recently, it was felt that Creole arose as a corrupted, Africanized version of French during the early years of the slave trade in Haiti. Settlers supposedly simplified their language to facilitate comprehension by slaves, who in turn supplied West African grammar. The result was the pidgin French of the lower class, which was considered a patois without the rights or status of a separate language.

Although this theory has some basis in fact, most linguists now consider Creole a full-fledged language arising from the French maritime trade dialect existing prior to colonization but characterized by the syntax of West African tribal languages. The striking similarities of the Caribbean Creole dialects would indicate that Creole did not develop in an insular fashion in each colony. It was an amalgam of the dialects of several French provinces, and it served as the *«lingua franca»* for whites and blacks in the slave collecting centers in Africa and in the French colonies alike.

The use of French and Creole during the colonial and independence period set speech patterns and attitudes for the next century. French was established as the language of culture and refinement, and it was spoken only by whites and educated mulatto freedmen. When the slaves became free, the greatest barrier between the various classes of colored peoples was broken down, and all Haitians became legally equal. Thus, the maintenance of the French language and life-style became a vital distinction between the two groups and a necessary means of ensuring the mulattoes' superior status over the former slaves.

Traditional attitudes towards Creole began to change during the twentieth century. The first attempt at a Creole text appeared in 1925 and the first Creole newspaper, in 1943. The black consciousness and nationalistic movements have always been tied to the desire to extend Creole usage, and social protest literature has used the peasant's language for both practical and ideological reasons. There was, however, no official reference to Creole until 1957. The constitution of that year stated that Creole would be recommended over French where there was insufficient knowledge of the latter. In 1969 a law was passed acknowledging the existence of Creole and granting it legal status; it could be used in Congress, law courts, and clubs but not in accredited educational institutions.

EDUCATION

Education in Haiti had a late start. During the colonial regime, schooling had been limited to the French elite to such an extent that the first chiefs of state in the independent country were illiterate. In the second decade of the nineteenth century, the country's first high school was established by President Alexandre Pétion; in the early 1970's it still existed as the Lycée Pétion in Port-au-Prince. A comprehensive system failed to develop, however, and the emerging elite who could afford the cost sent their children to school in Paris.

Educational development passed a milestone in 1860 when the signing of a concordat with the Vatican resulted in the assignment of additional teaching clergy to the young country. Education had already been largely an ecclesiastical function, but the arrival of additional priests further emphasized the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. The new priests were, for the most part, French, and they were motivated to further a rapprochement between Haiti and France.

In this atmosphere, the clerical teachers concentrated their efforts on the developing urban elite, particularly in the excellent new secondary schools, where Haitian students were made fully aware of the greatness of France, the backwardness of their own country, and its lack of capacity for self-rule. Virtually no schools of any sort were established in the countryside.

The effort to draw Haiti into the French sphere of influence was abandoned shortly before 1900, but it left a heritage in which education remained in large measure a system in which the clergy taught members of the upper class. Only a few went into the interior to teach the peasants.

During the 1920's, under the occupation by United States Marines, a considerable number of farm schools were established in which peasants could learn to read and write and could receive practical instruction in agriculture. These units were later absorbed into the regular primary system. The occupation authorities also were instrumental in establishing schools for vocational training in the larger urban areas, but the program was unpopular and collapsed even before the withdrawal of the marines in 1934.

During the most recent years, the principal benchmark in educational progress has been the establishment in 1944 of the University of Haiti, which was formed from several preexisting academic faculties. A characteristic of the educational system during the years after World War II has been the plurality of its direction. No single government agency has had full charge of the public program, and at both primary and secondary levels religious and secular private schools have played an important role.

Most of the urban public educational program is under the direction of the Secretariat of State for National Education, but rural primary and secondary schools are functions of the Secretariat of State for Agriculture, Natural Resources and Rural Development, and other secretariats have responsibility for certain specialized forms of schooling. The country is divided into twenty-four school districts, but the geographical – if not the functional – centralization of the program is underlined by the fact that laws and regulations concerning national education make no reference to local boards.

Private education in the late 1960's and early 1970's continued to play an important role, but the extent to which the central government subsidized privately operated schools blurred the line of division between public and private education. At the primary level, for example, in 1967 a little less than half of the primary enrollment was in schools operated by the government and referred to as lay public institutions (*publiques laiques).* The presbyterial schools, and some of the private ones, were operated by Roman Catholic orders and Protestant denominations. The Protestant groups were particularly important in rural areas where they maintained the mission primary schools, which in 1963 had an enrollment of an estimated 10,000 children. During the same year nearly 40 percent of the secondary students were in private institutions.

The small secondary school enrollment (about 10 percent of the primary school enrollment during the 1960's) does not include students in church-operated but publicly financed institutions in the public school sector comparable to the presbyterial primary units. During the 1960's, however, private education received public subsidies equivalent to about 10 percent of the funds allocated to public schools.

Some of the best private institutions are parts of conglomerates that offer a complete range of education from kindergarten through the secondary level; these schools draw their student bodies from the children of the elite. Others operate for profit, are of inferior quality, and function in rundown urban properties under the direction of teachers who are themselves barely literate.

Public schooling is free at all levels, but textbooks must usually be purchased. So few are available and they are so lacking in variety that, at both primary and secondary levels, rote learning is the rule. Textbooks from France are used fairly extensively, and the Christian Brothers of Canada have published some texts designed for Haitian use; but there are few history or geography books written by and for Haitians. Haitian history and literature were not taught extensively before the regime of President François Duvalier, who produced the book *Oeuvres Essentielles* (Essential Works), which is used as a text at all levels.

Literature

Critics have generally discerned four stages in the evolution of Haitian literature. The first, spanning the period from independence in 1804 to about 1820, was characterized by chauvinism and the pioneering spirit. The second, influenced by romanticism, began slowly and reached full maturity only after the fall of President Jean-Pierre Boyer in 1860 led to greater freedom of expression. Although the histories and biographies that predominated during the first period and the poetry and fiction that gained popularity during the second often dealt with Haitian subject matter, they were indistinguishable in style from the French works of corresponding time periods. Many of the Haitian literary figures were educated in France, had their books published there, and received recognition from the French Academy *(l'Académie Française)*.

Jacques C. Antoine, founder of two literary journals in the 1930s and 1940s, maintains that Haitian literature was born of anger directed against the white masters of the colonial period. He suggests that the obsession, throughout much of the nineteenth century, to prove that the Negro was not intellectually inferior resulted in a «servile imitation of French models» - French not only in style but in mode of thinking as well. Antoine concedes, however, that there were exceptions, such as Oswald Durand, whose lyric poetry in both French and Creole conveyed something of the national mystique.

A third stage, generally described as one of the most brillant epochs of Haitian letters, began toward the end of the nineteenth century and continued beyond the centennial of national independence in 1904. The so-called Centennial Generation was distinguished by the dedication of its members to a rejuvenation of society through literature. It was composed in part of former pupils of the Lycée Pétion, who had studied under teachers imported from France. They were stimulated by the need to compete with – and at the same time distinguish themselves from - their comrades who had studied in Paris. In 1894 they grouped themselves around the magazine *La Jeune Haïti*, whose founder, Justin Lhérisson, was noted for his portrayal of Haitian family life.

Massillon Coicou, poet and playwright of the Centennial Generation, was one of the first writers to introduce Creole into the national literature. In 1898 Coicou and other members of the club known as *Les Emulateurs* (The Emulators) founded the literary journal *La Ronde*. The second director of that journal, Dantes Bellegarde (1877-1966), distinguished himself as diplomat and educator as well as philosopher and social historian. Author of some twenty-four books, he was the last influential figure in a long line of francophile traditionalists.

Another member of that generation, Jean Price-Mars, was a precursor of the fourth and contemporary stage of Haitian literary development. Early in the twentieth century, Price-Mars and his fellow ethnologist J. C. Dorsainvil focused attention on Haitian folklore and paid tribute to its literary values. It was not until the United States' occupation, however, that the nationalism and social consciousness that have characterized the contemporary period pervaded the intellectual community. The transition in both style and content constituted the literary expression of *négritude*. This upsurge of pride in blackness and in the African heritage, reflected since the 1940's in virtually all aspects of national life, has been viewed as an attempt by the culturally ambivalent middle and upper classes, especially those of the intelligentsia who had been educated in Paris, to establish their identity. The peasants, of course, had no need of it; they knew who they were.

Resentment against foreign occupation was translated into wide-ranging literary efforts, including novels, poetry, drama, essays, and scholarly works. The anguish of occupation and the shock of the rediscovery that mulattoes, long the favored race in Haiti, were still treated as racially inferior by many whites was perhaps best expressed by Leon Laleau in his book *Le Choc* (The Shock).

Driven by curiosity about voodoo and folkways, educated young people, such as those who founded *La Revue Indigène* (The Indigenous Review) in 1927, left their comfortable homes to live in slums and rural villages. Their experiences generated social protest as well as literary nationalism. These trends reach a high point in the poems, novels, and ethnological studies of Jacques Romain. His *Gouverneurs de la Rosée* (Masters of the Dew), a powerful and realistic portrayal in creolized French of life in a peasant community, has been translated into some seventeen languages. It was published four months after his untimely death in 1944.

Three novels of Haitian peasant life, *Le Crayon de Dieu* (The Pencil of God), *Canapé-Vert* (The Green Couch), and *La Bête de Musseau* (The Beast of the Haitian Hills), written by the brothers Pierre Marcelin and Philippe Thoby-Marcelin, also received widespread acclaim at home and abroad. They were written with greater detachment than were the works of Romain.

Efforts by Frank Fouché and F. Morisseau-Leroy to nationalize the dramatic arts included the rendering of Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* and *Antigone* into their own version of Creole. Several poets, including Carl Brouard, Magloire St. Aude, and Emile Roumer, have been noted for works that, although linguistically French, are Creole in expression and sentiment. In 1935 Louis Diaquoi, a leading poet and journalist, fostered a group called *Les Griots* (The Sorcerers), who derived their inspiration from voodoo. François Duvalier, a member of this group, later used his intimate knowledge of the religion to great advantage in concentrating power in the presidency.

One of the most prominent of the younger poets is René Depestre. His *Minerai Noir* (Black Ore) and *Traduit du Grand Large* (Crossing of the Open Sea), written in exile, denounce the white world and express nostalgia for Africa and belief in human brotherhood.

Haitian literary activity more or less coasted on the momentum of the renaissance of the 1940's until the mid-1960's. As Duvalier had himself been a participant in the black nationalist literary movement, he did not move initially to suppress it in systematic fashion. In fact, he introduced national literature into the schools for the first time. By the mid-1960's, however, the pervasiveness of political repression was such that most members of the intelligentsia had been rendered silent or driven into exile, and national literary development was suspended.

The Graphic Arts

The renaissance in literature had been underway for about fifteen years before the rich potential in painting and sculpture flowered into a national movement. Until the Art Center was opened in Port-au-Prince in 1944, those who painted for the love of it did so in isolation, without encouragement, instruction, or recognition. There were no art schools, museums, or commercial galleries.

The movement was sparked by a United States artist, DeWitt Peters, who was teaching English in a Haitian government school. Peters felt frustrated because there was no colony of artists with whom to spend his leisure hours. He rented a building and spread the word that artists were invited to meet there, work there, and exhibit their work; self-taught painters began to appear and timidly offer their work in exchange for a few dollars and painting materials.

When Rigaud Benoit first appeared at the center in 1945, for example, he was so unsure of the value of his work that he attributed most of it to «friends».

The most famous of the Haitian primitive painters, the voodoo *houngan* (priest) Hector Hyppolite, was discovered when Peters passed his house and was captivated by the decorative painting on his door. In 1946 Hyppolite brought Wilson Bigaud, then a boy of fifteen, to the center. Philomé Obin, whose talent had already been recognized in Cap-Haïtien, continued to work in his hometown, where he later established his own school, but he sent many of his paintings to the center.

Selden Rodman, North American poet and anthologist, became associated with the Art Center in 1946, and in 1948 he directed the Haitian Art Center in New York, through which many Haitian paintings made their way into United States collections. Meanwhile, in 1947, a small selection of Haitian paintings, especially those of Hyppolite, had aroused great excitement at the international exhibit of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in Paris. Episcopal Bishop Alfred Voegeli gave the primitive art movement a boost when he commissioned the center to decorate the walls of the Holy Trinity Cathedral (*Cathédrale Sainte Trinité)* in Port-au-Prince. Benoit, Obin, Castera Bazile, and several others participated in the effort. The most highly acclaimed of the several now-famous murals is Bigaud's *Miracle at Cana*, in which the New Testament feast is placed in a Haitian setting and embellished with such details as a policeman chasing a thief.

The voodoo influence has been most notable in the paintings of Hyppolite, whose creative skills had been devoted for many years to such ceremonial designs as the *vèvè*, which are drawn in the dust and later stamped out by the dancers. Although he painted, often with a house-painting brush, in bold strokes of bright color, the mystic quality of his personality is evident in his work. He died of a heart attack in 1948 while painting his own portrait.

Next to Hyppolite, Bigaud is probably the most famous of the Haitian painters. His canvases, among which *Earthly Paradise* and *Cock Fight* are particularly well known, are filled with great detail. The jungles of Enguerrand Gourgue, like those of Bigaud, are noted for their baroque lushness. René Vincent is noted for his psychological expressiveness, and Toussaint Auguste, for the balanced symmetry of his work.

By 1950 the primitive art movement had grown enough to develop rival groups, one of which established its own gallery, the Center for Plastic Arts (*Foyer des Arts Plastiques)*, in Port-au-Prince and had achieved international fame. Primitive art has continued to flourish, but in recent years artists have also experimented with modern trends emanating from Europe and the United States.

Early Haitian sculpture, such as the portrait busts by Louis Edmond Laforesteris and the monument to Toussaint Louverture by Norman Ulysse Charles, was stylistically French. The movement launched by the Art Center, however, gave rise to innovation in sculpture and woodcarving and called attention to the African artistic heritage. The sculpture of Valentin bears striking resemblance to that of West Africa, although he was not known to have been familiar with it. Odilon Duperier, once a carpenter's assistant, gained fame for the excellence of his carved masks. Jasmin Joseph is noted for his imaginative terra cotta sculptures; and Georges Liataud, for his work in sheet iron.

Haitian architecture, scarcely affected by the renaissance in painting and sculpture, reflects the country's colonial past and its dual culture. The thatched huts (*cailles*), modeled by the first Negro slaves after those they had known in Africa, are still the characteristic dwellings in the rural areas, although many have been embellished with brightly painted doors, shutters and woodwork. Architecture resembling that of French *châteaux* predominates in the urban areas. Some of the more outstanding examples of French-inspired architecture are the eighteenth-century cathedral at Port-au-Prince, the Sans-Souci palace (built for King Henry I in the early nineteenth century), the Iron Market, the National Palace, and several elegant mansions in the French style of the late nineteenth century. The country's most impressive architectural monument is the Citadelle near Cap-Haïtien, begun in 1804 under the direction of Henri Besse, a Haitian engineer. According to legend, the construction of this massive mountaintop fortress cost the lives of some 20,000 to 25,000 slaves.

In recent decades there has been a transition from gingerbread detail and high-peaked structures inspired by French architecture toward the simpler lines and functionalism of modern international architecture; several Haitian architects, especially Robert Baussan and Albert Mangones, are noted for their contributions to this development. The transfer of political control over the past few decades from the French-oriented mulatto elite to the black middle class is reflected in the capital in a more general way by the abandonment of uniformity or style coordination in architecture and in the trend toward greater use of bright colors rather than white.

Music and Dance

Music is an integral part of the lives of all Haitians. Playing the piano is a common pastime for the women of the elite, and drawing room recitals featuring local or visiting performers are often arranged. Music and dance have served as emotional catharses since the days of slavery. The street vendor chants the merits of her wares, and the farmer sings in the fields. Voodoo dances are performed by peasants of all ages, from toddlers to the old and infirm, and fathers teach the art of drumming to their young sons. In *Ainsi Parla l'Oncle* (Thus Spoke the Uncle), Price-Mars writes that, «A Haitian could accurately be described as one who sings and suffers, who toils and laughs, who dances and resigns himself to his fate. With joy in his heart or tears in his eyes he sings.»

Most Haitian music is of African origin and has its national roots in voodoo. In the voodoo rituals there are songs to every god or *loa*. Possession by the *loa* is induced mainly by the drummers, although the *houngan's* female chorus is also important to the ceremony. Some of the ceremonial songs have been adapted, with little change in rhythm or melody, for secular usage. Gossip, anecdotes, affection, patriotism, and even political satire are among the secular themes that spice the work songs of the *combite* and the party songs of the *bamboche* (see ch. 5).

Most of the country's dances - and there are dozens of them - were born of voodoo also. The peasants dance individually rather than in couples; their uninhibited bodily motions respond to the rhythm of the drums. One of the dances most commonly seen at a *bamboche* is known as the *danse pinyique*. The dance that the elite has shared with the urban lower classes, as well as with most of the other Caribbean countries, is the *méringue*. The lyrics of the *méringue* are often full of innuendos concerning love or politics.

In addition to drums of all sizes and descriptions, Haitian musical instruments include the bamboo flute, the tambourine, the African *marimba*, the conch shell *lambi*, the papaya-stem piston, and the bamboo *base-vaccine*.

Haitian folk music was transmitted orally from generation to generation with no other means of dissemination for many years; however, during the 1930's a North American, Harold Courlander, and two Haitians, Werner Jaegerhuber and Lina Mathon-Blanchet, began collecting, printing, describing, recording, and arranging public performances of Haitian songs and dances for folklore enthusiasts beyond the nation's borders. In 1939 Madame Blanchet organized a group of young people to perform the traditional songs and dances. Since then several such groups have performed in Haiti and abroad.

Jean Léon Destiné, after making a name for himself on the New York stage with his solo interpretations of Haitian dances, has returned periodically to Port-au-Prince to direct the Folklore Troupe of Haiti, a government sponsored entity, in its regular seasons at the Verdure Theater (*Théâtre de Verdure*). Emerante de Pradines and Odette Wiener also organized troupes that have performed at home and abroad; Katherine Dunham, a United States citizen who spent several years in Haiti, has incorporated Haitian rhythms into her internationally renowned modern dance routines.

The most successful of the contemporary Haitian composers of formal music have been those who have looked to the folklore for their inspiration. Jaegerhuber incorporated folksongs into an impressive operatic rendition of Romain's novel *Masters of the Dew* and wrote a complete mass in which he used African rhythms. Justin Elie, Théramène Manès, Occide Joanty, and Ludovic Lamothe are also noted for their use of folk rhythms, melodies, and legends in their formal compositions.

PUBLIC INFORMATION

In 1972 freedom of the press was guaranteed by the constitution, and formal censorship was not in effect, but most editors and publishers were careful not to print material that might be offensive to the government. Throughout the history of the country there have been many instances of rigorous press censorship and suppression of publications, and editorial immunity has rarely been a reality. Even during the United States occupation (1915-34), through which the United States government hoped to introduce democratic practices, the occupying forces considered it necessary to alter provisions of the American-sponsored Constitution of 1918 guaranteeing freedom of the press. This action was taken to bring under control the opposition press, which had persisted in publishing propaganda against the governments of Haiti and the United States. The press was censored, and editors were jailed.

President Sténio Vincent (1930-41) imprisoned editors without trial and suppressed their publications. President Elie Lescot (1941-46) arrested and jailed critical journalists. President Dumarsais Estimé (1946-50) closed a number of newspapers. President Paul Magloire (1950-56) arrested editors and banned partisan radio broadcasts; in 1953 the presses of *Haïti Démocratique*, an opposition newspaper, were smashed.

President François Duvalier's control of mass media was virtually complete. Shortly after Duvalier took office in 1957 the publisher and the leading columnist of the *Haïti-Miroir* were arrested; the editor of the *Indépendance* was detained; and the plants of these opposition papers and *Le Matin* were destroyed. Another opposition paper - *Le Patriote* - ceased publication after its offices were bombed and members of its staff were injured. In 1961 Duvalier closed *La Phalange*, a Roman Catholic daily that, as of 1972, had not resumed publication.

Duvalier forced surviving newspapers to do his bidding by granting subsidies, by compelling newspapers to publish - as their own - previously prepared progovernment editorials, and by assigning to regular editorial staffs writers directly controlled by the government. These controls were in effect at the time of his death in 1971.

Newspapers, Periodicals, and Books

During the third quarter of the eighteenth century the colony of Saint-Domingue supported an estimated fifty newspapers and other journals. Because of the high cost of production subscriptions to these publications were limited almost entirely to members of the upper class. The first newspaper was the *Gazette de Saint-Domingue*, a weekly that in the late 1780's had about 1,500 subscribers. The monthly *Journal de Saint-Domingue* ran to sixty-four pages of articles on *belles lettres* and such projects as commerce, agriculture, health, natural history, and science; but, for lack of subscribers, it lasted less than two years. An official newspaper, the *Gazette Politique et Commerciale d'Haïti*, appeared in 1804 - the year in which the republic was founded. It was followed by hundreds of short-lived journals published during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century.

In 1972 the principal daily newspapers, all published in Port-au-Prince, were *Le Nouveau Monde*, *Le Matin*, *Le Nouvelliste*, *Panorama*, and *Le Jour*. *Le Nouveau Monde*, a semiofficial daily, had an estimated circulation of 5,000 or more. *Le Matin*, founded in 1907, had an estimated circulation of 3,000 or more. *Le Nouvelliste*, established in 1896, was the oldest newspaper being published in 1972; its circulation was an estimated 5,000 or more. *Le Jour*, founded in 1950, had a circulation estimated at about 1,000. All of these dailies had general appeal. A newspaper that tended to take a relatively independent position was *Panorama*, founded in 1956. Its circulation was estimated at 1,500 or more.

The size of the dailies in 1972 ranged from four to eight pages; all of the newspapers carried advertising. Coverage of international news was small, and the only foreign news agency providing service to Haitian publications was the French Press Agency (*Agence France Presse* - AFP).

In addition to official statements and foreign news items considered to be of outstanding importance, the contents of the daily newspapers consisted largely of gossip, reports of cultural events, sports news, and articles on home economics. Little space was given to crime news, and political news was usually confined to official releases.

Periodicals played only a limited role in the field of public information. Several weeklies were published regularly, and a number of periodicals appeared sporadically. A scholarly journal, *Revue de la Société Haïtienne d'Histoire et de Géographie*, was published quarterly.

There were several printing firms in Port-au-Prince in 1972 but no publishing houses. A substantial proportion of Haitian writers had their works published outside of the country, and the latest statistics available in 1972 indicated that in 1965 a total of twenty-five books were printed in Haiti.

Radio, Television and Motion Pictures

Because newspaper circulation and television broadcasting are limited to the Port-au-Prince area, the nation's primary information and advertising medium is radio. In 1972 there were sixteen active broadcasting stations, most of which were privately operated and licensed to advertise. They broadcast in both French and

Creole. The number of receivers in the country was estimated at 300,000. Large numbers of people did not hear radio broadcasts regularly.

In 1972 the three most powerful broadcasting stations (ten kilowatts each) were *Radio Nouveau Monde*, *Radio Haïti Inter* - both in Port-au-Prince - and *Voix Evangélique*, in Cap-Haïtien, operated by the Oriental Missionary Society, a Protestant-based organization that had a number of other transmitters in Cap-Haïtien and Port-au-Prince. The government station was *La Voix de la Révolution*, with several transmitters - all in Port-au-Prince - the most powerful of which broadcasted on seven kilowatts. *Radio Lumière* was operated by the West Indies Bible Mission, a Protestant organization; it broadcasted religious and cultural programs over transmitters in Aux Cayes, Cap-Haïtien, and Port-au-Prince, the most powerful of which utilized five kilowatts. Power used by other stations – most of them in Cap-Haïtien and Port-au-Prince – ranged from 1,000 watts down to 100 watts. In order to present special features or government-sponsored programs local stations made arrangements to rebroadcast programs emanating from the more powerful stations.

There was one television station, commercially-operated and broadcasting on two channels in 1972. The two channels were receivable only in the Port-au-Prince area. One telecast was in French, and one was in English; both operated only during evening hours.

Motion picture theaters in 1972 numbered 30, with a total of 17,000 seats. Eight of the theaters had wide screens. The number of admissions in 1972 may have run as high as one million. French films predominated, but a considerable number of films from the United States and other countries were being shown with French soundtracks.

Foreign Government Activity

In 1972 the French government was engaged in fairly extensive cultural activities in Haiti. The French Alliance (*Alliance Française)* conducted academic, language, and other cultural programs and carried out an exchange program in which French professors and teachers came to Haiti and Haitian students were sent to France. The French also distributed films and publications. The United States Information Agency provided material to the press and to radio and television stations. It also provided instruction in English in a binational center in Port-au-Prince, and operated a library.

Other countries engaging in cultural activities in Haiti were the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), Italy, Spain, Great Britain, Canada and a number of Latin American countries.

THE HUGUENOTS

by

Marie-Reine Mikesell

Translated into English by Phyllis Hagel

Yorktown, Virginia

As was the case in Boston and New York, the French Protestants were among the first pioneers in the southern states. As far back as 1619, the treasurer of the Virginia Company indicated that experienced vinegrowers had been sent for to develop viticulture. In 1621, the new Governor, Sir Francis Wyatt, received the order to plant mulberries and to take care of the Frenchmen who had been sent to take care of this task, and the *Virginia Verger* of 1625 mentions the arrival of 8 French vinegrowers from Languedoc to cultivate the vineyards and the mulberries. In 1629, the French made an attempt at colonizing along the James River, but they had been given a swampy and unhealthy tract of land, and many of them died; the others dispersed without leaving a trace. During the 17th century, some isolated Frenchmen continued to pass through Virginia, but it was not until the revocation of the Edict of Nantes that several hundreds of refugees arrived. We only have scanty information about these refugees.

One of the Huguenots who sought refuge in Virginia, however, became known through the celebrity of one of his descendants. Nicolas Martiau was one of the first colonists of Virginia. Born in France, in 1591, he arrived in Virginia via England in 1620. He was the first American ancestor of George Washington. Dr. John Baer Stoudt wrote his biography in 1932: «Nicolas Martiau, the adventurous Huguenot». John Washington and his brother Lawrence emigrated to Virginia only in 1657.

At Yorktown, where Washington camped and where Nicolas Martiau had lived 125 years earlier, one can read the following inscription upon a monument:

> Site de la maison de
> Nicolas Martiau
> le Huguenot aventureux
> né en France en 1591
> venu en Virginie en 1620
> Capitaine lors de
> l'insurrection indienne
> Membre de la
> Chambre des Electeurs
> Juge du comté de York
> en 1635 l'un des responsables
> de l'expulsion du gouverneur Harvey
> ce qui représente
> la première opposition
> à la politique colonial britannique
> Premier Patenté de Yorktown
> et par le mariage de sa fille Elizabeth
> avec le colonel George Reade,
> il devint le premier ancêtre
> américain à la fois du général
> GEORGE WASHINGTON
> et du gouverneur Thomas Nelson
> érigé par la Société Huguenote
> de Pennsylvanie avec la
> coopération de la Fédération
> nationale des Sociétés huguenotes et
> la Commission du
> cent cinquantenaire de Yorktown
> 1931

Charleston, South Carolina

It was in South Carolina that the greatest number of French refugees established themselves and that the Huguenot influence was the strongest. The history of the French immigration follows fairly closely that of Virginia. It was in 1679, one year before the founding of Charleston, that the first Frenchmen arrived. They had been sent to develop the culture of vineyards, mulberries and olive trees, and King Charles II himself had paid the costs of the expedition. During the years that followed, refugees continued to arrive in small groups. The latest to come founded New Bordeaux in 1764. Some of them who had first stopped in New York and in New England, left after remaining briefly in the colder climate to settle for good in Carolina. There was a total of 6 settlements founded by the Huguenots in South Carolina. Charleston, the oldest, was also the one that retained for the longest time characteristics that were clearly French.

The beginnings were not always easy. Some Frenchmen had been able to take their wealth with them, which permitted them to buy land and to settle themselves better than the poorer English immigrants. On the other hand, country people accustomed to the laborious work of the vineyard succeeded in becoming prosperous through their businesses. By their very success, they seemed to acquire more and more influence, which was felt as a threat. Thus they came to find themselves refused the right to sit in the provincial assembly and were the objects of suspicion and even of persecution by the local authorities. Eventually the friction diminished, and in 1719, there were two Huguenots, Benjamin de la Consilière and Pierre Saint-Julien, on the Council of Twelve.

As was the case in Boston and New York, the French refugees of South Carolina thought early on to ally themselves with the Church of England. The reasons which decided so many Huguenots to conform and to accept, at least in name, the discipline of the Anglican Church have not been clearly determined. At first look it would appear that everything pertaining to this group ought to have turned them away. It was not religious questions that motivated the rupture between Henry VIII and Rome, but the refusal of Pope Clement VII to grant the King an annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon. From this situation, the changes in the ritual and the doctrine that followed were numerous, and of all the Protestant Churches, this is the one which retained most of the traditions of medieval Catholicism. It is likely that the Huguenots were pushed to this extreme position by their situation. Scattered in the thirteen colonies, they were not numerous enough to maintain their church and to obtain ministers. They were often forced to resort to calling upon the «Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Abroad». It appears certain also that the formalities of naturalization were easier for those who had accepted the power of the official Church of England. Governors and representatives of the royal power exerted an undeniable pressure on the refugees to conform. Many yielded. Their attachment to their culture showed itself in another manner, by their persistent efforts to transmit to their children the language that they had received from their ancestors. But certain among them resisted staunchly and succeeded in maintaining for a long time the discipline of the reformed French churches. The Huguenots of Charleston, in spite of the obvious disadvantages which resulted from their faithfulness to the pure Calvinist doctrine, as well as that of their descendants after them, steadfastly refused to «conform» and to become part of the Episcopal church. They kept, until even the present day, their independent organization and are proud to belong to the only Huguenot church still existing on American soil.[1] The beautiful building, of gothic-normand style, has occupied the present site since 1693.

Francis Marion

Each war has its commanders and its heroes. The American War of Independence produced its most heroic and most romantic figure in the person of Francis Marion. His story reads like an adventure novel. He was the grandson of a Huguenot refugee from Languedoc, who settled in South Carolina. Francis' father was the oldest of 13 children. When the regular army was formed in 1775 to defend South Carolina against the English, Marion was named captain. After the capitulation of Charleston in 1780, he went to Santee, one of the Huguenot settlements, where he found a fair number of his co-religionists ready to place themselves under his command. He formed with them the *Brigade de Marion* which became legendary. His exploits mark a turning point in the outcome of the war. He sowed confusion among the Tories and revived the patriotic fervor among soldiers who had been reduced to a handful of men by desertions and discouragement. The manner in which he lured the enemy into ambushes and defeated them, even though he was almost without munitions, earned him the appellation *Renard des Marais*.

Even if one omits a precise numerical evaluation, it nonetheless remains a fact that the support brought by the refugees of French origin to the formation of the American population of the thirteen colonies is far from negligible. Had the majority of the refugees belonged to more educated and enlightened classes of society, and had they found themselves in an atmosphere encouraging to the development of science and literature, perhaps they would have exercised a distinct influence as they had done in Holland, England and Prussia. But we know that the American refugees were peasants or businessmen, that there were few artisans among them, and that only the pastors were educated. Neither New England, New Amsterdam and even less so Carolina offered a favorable setting. In spite of the founding of Harvard College, the taste for education was not widespread in Boston; commerce, religion and politics absorbed all intellectual effort and people thought of developing a culture independent of English culture only during the time of the national crisis preceding the Revolution. The refugees were able, within limits, to contribute to the expansion of the knowledge of the French language. They furnished several French teachers, but those were without great cultural knowledge and contact with the French intellectual life and thus they had necessarily limited influence. From the religious point of view, their Calvinism seemed to have been moderated and humane, and they could have, perhaps, contributed to softening the rigor of the Puritan dogmas, if they had not rallied almost everywhere early on to the Anglican church.

But if the Huguenot refugees had often only a secondary influence upon the development of American civilization, it was a different story for their descendants who played an important role during the war for Independence and during the debates which preceded the adoption of the Constitution. They provided America with statesmen who played a decisive role during the time of the Revolution in the destiny of the country, men like Alexander Hamilton, whose mother was a Huguenot from the Antilles; John Jay, grandson of Auguste Jay from La Rochelle; and Anne-Marie Bayard from New York, Elias Boudinot from Philadelphia and Henri Laurens from Charleston. The latter, captured at sea in 1780 by the English while he was on a mission to Holland, had the great honor to be exchanged for Cornwallis. It is very significant that among the four signers of the Treaty of Paris in 1782 (John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay and Henri Laurens) which assured the independence of the United States, two were son and grandson of French refugees. A Huguenot was the first Secretary of the Treasury of the new republic (Hamilton), the first chief justice (John Jay) and three of the seven presidents of the Continental Congress (Henri Laurens 1777-78, John Jay 1778-79, Elias Boudinot 1782-83). James Bowdoin (Baudoin) presided over the convention which gave Massachusetts its constitution and John Jay and Governor Morris cooperated in the writing of the New York constitution.

America owes also several of its best poets to Huguenot descendants. Philippe Fréneau, the first real poet of the young United States, had kept in contact with French literature and was a translator as well as an original writer. Whittier, the anti-slavery Quaker poet, was proud of being descended on his mother's side from Huguenot refugees. Longfellow had Huguenot ancestry and the French origin of Sidney Lanier, poet of the South and of David Thoreau is apparent even by their names. Thoreau was the grandson of Philippe Thoreau and Marie Le Gallais, who were refugees in the Isle of Jersey. Also among the Huguenot descendants are presidents of the United States: Washington, the two Adams, Tyler, Garfield and F. D. Roosevelt; philantropists and supporters of education: Stephen Girard, Christophe Roberts, Matthew Vassar, James Bowdoin and Thomas Gallaudet.

The volunteers who accompanied La Fayette and Rochambeau's soldiers found more than once among the troops in Washington's army men who bore the same names as themselves, and who could often still reply in their maternal language. La Fayette himself was so struck by this that upon his return to France he worked to return civil rights to the French Protestants. We know that thanks to his efforts, the Assemblée des Notables adopted a Tolerance Act in 1787 which gave back legal rights to the Huguenots. This is one of the reasons, and by no means the least, for the popularity which the name La Fayette continues to enjoy in the United States.

The reconciliation between Frenchmen and American Huguenots continued to grow. As strong as the prejudice was of the American Huguenots against the country of Saint-Bartholemy and of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, nonetheless, the French participation in the American war of independence seemed to have redeemed the situation and made the old prejudice forgotten. A Colonel Fontaine wrote, on 26 October, 1781, after York's surrender: «The troops which came were the flower of the English army, but, however, I do not think that their appearance was better than that of our troops or of the French troops. The latter, you can be sure, are very different from the ideas we had been given beforehand which portrayed them as a people who lived on frogs and horrid vegetables. I have never seen better-looking troops!»

At the end of the 19th century, when calm returned after the civil war, the Americans could turn towards the past, and the descendants of the Huguenots reclaimed their ancestors. With Macauley, they proclaimed that «A people which does not revere with pride the noble accomplishments of its ancestors will never accomplish anything worthy of being preserved in the memory of its own descendants». In 1885, on the 200th anniversary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the descendants of the French refugees founded the *Société Huguenote d'Amérique*, which had as its objective to «reunite the sons of the sons of the French Reformers, to retrace and to preserve the memory of the actions of their ancestors, and to transmit them to their children and to their children». After this date, commemorative plaques multiplied. During the same year, they established on a similar basis the independent organization *Société Huguenote de la Caroline du Sud.* On the official seal of the two societies are found the fleur de lys of France on a blue background.

NB - No other people played as privileged a role in the history of the United States as did the French. Through her explorers and founders of cities, such as Joliet, La Salle, Dulhut, Cadillac, Vincennes, Bienville and many others, through the participation of the Huguenots in the founding of the republic, and through the vital French military aid during the war of independence, the French people truly left a threefold imprint upon the history and the countryside of America.

(1) Since 1950, the Huguenot church of Charleston has had neither a pastor nor regular services.

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THE ACADIANS OF MAINE

by

Julie D. Albert

Foreward

Many authors, in order to shield the British government from the responsibility of having committed one of the most atrocious crimes against humanity, have distorted the facts about the Acadians and their dispersal. They have pictured them as a rebellious and untrustworthy people while the real stories have been buried with the wretched and miserable wanderers lacking the necessities to sustain life. You will learn here that they had their faults, but none that deserved the oppressions and persecutions they had to endure for centuries. If you are Acadian, you have just cause to be proud of your lineage. You can rightfully claim for heritage virtues and qualities that no other race in the world possesses.

Some French words and expressions have been used because they would lose much of their flavor if translated. I have done my best to give a good general background of our Acadian ancestors and ask my readers to take up any complaints with the committee for the next centennial in the year 2069. Good reading.

Introduction

Someone has compared a community which does not know its own history to a man who has lost his memory. Our own town is relatively young compared to others in the country, but already many of the traditions and customs of our Acadian ancestors, worth recording and preserving, are vanishing from our family life.

The old residents' unwritten information, handed down through generations, although liable to fluctuations and variations, contains much that is valuable, because it has been, from the very beginning, preserved in living human minds instead of in cold historical print. Since our oldest residents had very little or no education, they often developed vivid memories, and many retain clearer impressions of the customs and habits of their youth than of more recent happenings.

We can understand and appreciate our own civilization better if we are informed of the earlier inhabitants who once existed on the very lands, beside the same waters, in the same valley we now inhabit; if we are acquainted with their mode of life, their joys and sorrows, their trials and victories, their concocted medicines and remedies for men and beasts, and their foods and dishes now long out of fashion.

Most of the things in this world go through three stages. First, they are new, exciting and interesting. Then they become dull, have more or less outgrown their function, and are put aside. If they manage to survive this dangerous period, they become interesting again, even romantic, tinged with a certain mystery for the power they have to give us insight into the lives of our ancestors. Some such antiques are the old iron kettle, the clay pipe, portraits, homemade tools and furniture, firearms, etc... They have become heirlooms to be treasured, and in the not too distant future will be the only ones left to «speak» of bygone days to those interested in «listening».

YOUR LAND AND MINE

Geologists tell us that at one time the whole of the St. John Valley, as well as the rest of the continent, was covered with a glacier of ice several hundred feet high. Careful studies of rock strata reveal that at least twelve times during the millions of years of geologic times our mountains were thrust skyward, only to be leveled away by erosion of sun, wind, rain and snow. Climate ranged from tropical to temperate to frigid, until finally the last great ice sheet started melting and moving on top of the mountains. As the climate grew warmer, the glacier inched its way to the southeast, literally gouging out streams and rivers, taking loose soil and rocks out to sea. In time, rivers narrowed down, leaving on the shores part of the beds they had occupied. Thus, the tops of ours hills were long ago the shores of the river. Lakes, ponds, rapids and waterfalls were formed; grasses, plants and flowers sprang up. Forests grew, wild animals roamed through them, and the stage was set for man's coming.

When the glacier finally left Maine, it left 2503 lakes and ponds, thousands of streams never counted, and the only Atlantic Salmon rivers in the country. Lakes are big, Moosehead being forty miles long and half as wide. On its eastern side, rising a thousand feet above the lake, is Mount Kineo, which the Indians claimed was a huge moose crouching down so that the giant medicine man could talk into its ear. This is where they came every summer to get their felsite, hornstone, quartz and flint for making arrowheads, knives, spears and other tools.

The St. John River, so called because it was discovered by Samuel de Champlain on St. John the Baptist's Day in 1604, used to be named the Wooloostook, in honor of one of the Indians' greatest chiefs. Translators have interpreted it as meaning Crooked River or Shallow River. Flowing in the opposite direction from any other river in Maine, it winds its leisurely way between the fertile lands of the valley, as if reluctant to leave the picturesque shores. Where it traverses Madawaska, in the middle of its course, it appears in such enchanting beauty that it has been compared to the Rhine.

From the first, the soil was found favorable for growing plants such as fodder and cereals, for root vegetables, (potatoes in particular) and for fruits that ripen in temperate zones. The climate is healthful, and the late spring and early fall frosts that were once the terror of the colonists are quite rare. The valley itself, by its very formation, is preserved from many natural disasters that occur elsewhere.

Although winters are long and cold, the land is truly magnificent in any season. In spring, the quiet shadows of thick fir and spruce are dappled with the lighter green of sunlight on budding trees; the maple, birch, beech, and alder thickets blaze gloriously in October; and, always, the river - tranquil, free, now black as ebony under dark scudding clouds, then pink and gold as the afternoon light diffuses in shadows.

Today many French Acadians refuse to be drawn from the peace and quiet of their own realm to the attractions of the modern city. Home ties are strong here. Civilization has dispelled the wilderness, the majestic pines have nearly all vanished, but the soft hand of the valley, once it has captured your heart, does not easily give it back.

NATIONAL COLORS

In 1880, the *Société St-Jean-Baptiste* of Québec, wanting to celebrate its national holiday in a special way, invited all the French people of America to the planned festivities. This was the first time the Acadians were to be assembled together since the famous call to the church for the dispersion of Grand-Pré. A committee was formed to see that delegates from Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were named to convene later to see to their general interests. Conditions having changed considerably, the

Acadians had begun to feel somewhat apart from the Canadians and wanted a National Holy Day proper to themselves - a day when they would reunite once a year to talk of their fathers, recall the glories of the past, and reaffirm their faith at the foot of the altar. A lively discussion ensued, and finally the date decided upon was August 15th, with *Notre-Dame de l'Assomption* as their patroness. The celebration was a complete success.

Three years later, at another assembly, the Acadian flag was designed. The star is symbolic of Mary, Stella Maris, who guided the outcasts through storms and sufferings. The blue field it rests upon represents the persons consecrated to her; while the papal colors, gold and white, show their inviolable attachment to Holy Mother, the Church. Their chosen hymn was Ave Maris Stella, and their motto, Surge Acadia. The first flag was made by Mrs. Alphée Belliveau (Marie Babineau) and is conserved at the museum of the cathedral Notre-Dame de l'Assomption in Moncton, N.B.

Seeking to strengthen the unifying ties among Acadian groups, the Société Nationale des Acadiens now meets every five years, inquiring into their economic and social standing, coordinating national effort for effective action, promoting the welfare of Acadians everywhere, propagating the French language and Catholic religion and helping isolated minority groups who cannot survive or progress by themselves.

THE LEGEND OF GLOUSCAP

Before 1830 the Indians of Madawaska lived along the river shore. They were peaceful citizens, respectful of authority, honest, and charitable. Even though they have lost their right to a political chief because of the diminution of their people, the era of patriarchy is still with them and they live at Tobique, capital seat of the tribe, under a regularly elected chief.

These Indians were not brutal nor stupid, but spoke with insight and good judgment. However, every one of them was highly superstitious, hence the following legend:

An enormous beaver, a monster of colossal proportions, possessed of a bad spirit and named Glouscap had predicted for them many mishaps. Outraged by their infidelities, Glouscap, after having ravaged the lower part of the river, had come to Madawaska. Here he announced to the inhabitants that their headquarters would be destroyed and the Malecites would know many moons of bad luck. Seized by fright, the Indians tried to appease his anger by bringing beaver skins, which they deposited at the mouth of the river. A trickster came to tell them that Glouscap's anger had subsided and that, at last, they were to see good days.

The genius of conscience, very happy with this reparation, wanted to leave his mark of contentment. Seeing that only a narrow stream of water passed at the foot of the fortress, he changed the course of the river by bringing it near their houses. An immense projecting ridge of rocks made a fall in the bed of the new course. A part of this he hit with his powerful tail to let the bark canoes cross this fall. Then he left to spend the winter at Temiscouata.

The next spring, word came back that he had been seen departing in the glow of a sunset, to return to his home in the rising sun. From there, however, he was liable to come back at any time to punish the Malecites who were not faithful to the Great Spirit.

IN OLD ACADIA

The name Acadia is very ancient. In 1524 Jean Verazzano named a region in Nova Scotia Arcadie because of its beautiful trees. In 1603 Champlain used Arcadie to denote the same territory.

Port Royal, now known as Annapolis, was the second permanent European settlement in America. Piziquid is now Windsor; Beauséjour is Cumberland; Ile Royale is Cap Breton; and Ile St. Jean is Prince Edward Island; Baie Française is now Bay of Fundy.

EVANGELINE

> «This is the forest primeval.
> The murmuring pines and the
> hemlocks,
>
> Bearded with moss, and in
> garments green, indistinct in
> the twilight,
>
> Stand like druids of eld, with
> voices sad and prophetic,
>
> Stand like harpers hoar, with
> beards that rest on their bosoms.»

Thus states Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's mournful epic, familiar to almost everyone. But what everyone does not know is that the cruel dispersal of the Acadians by the English in an effort to make them disappear from the face of the earth was more horrible than any writer or poet can describe. Words cannot do justice to the human anguish brought about by the cunning and deceitful Lawrence, and the intense hatred he entertained for the French Catholics. In a way it is ironical that his orders to the soldiers who were about to imprison the unsuspecting Acadians were fashioned after those of Our Savior to Judas: *«Quod facis, fac citius»* . . . «Whatever you do, do it quickly.»

It was under his orders that the Acadians after heart-rending separations, embarked to be transported to strange lands. At a given amount per head, with a small allowance of pork and flour per week, they were given no more consideration than animals. The vessels were of the cheapest, unseaworthy old hulks with no comfort or safety, with only one aim: to get them out as quickly as possible, in the cheapest way. «I do not know,» observed George Bancroft, «if the annals of the human race keep the record of sorrow so wantonly inflicted, so bitter and so lasting as fell upon the French inhabitants of Acadia.» During the eleven years of exile, about 10,000 died on land and sea, a fact which speaks for itself.

Longfellow weaves a story of the simple inhabitants of Acadia, their numerous families, their honesty and attachment to their fertile lands and to the Catholic religion. How sweet life was along the river shores, in the apple orchards where young men met the pretty shepherd girls and declared their love!

Grand-Pré was the largest and loveliest parish, where lived Gabriel Lajeunesse and Evangéline Bellefontaine, son and daughter of two lifelong friends. Their marriage contract had just been drawn up by the notary when the men were called to St. Charles church for the announcement of the dispersal. Evangéline's father died of emotion and was buried on the shore before the embarkation; then she and Gabriel were herded on different ships.

The rest of her life was an agonizing search for her beloved. Hearing rumors of his whereabouts, even speaking with people who had just seen him, she sought him everywhere. Believing he had gone to Louisiana, she joined a group of Acadians and descended the Mississippi, to find his father, the old blacksmith of Grand-Pré. He now owned land and cattle and had succeeded in Louisiana. But Gabriel? Tortured by the thought of his loved one, unable to stay long in one place, he had left that day on another boat, which had crossed hers during the night. She and Basil, his father, arrived at a Spanish town, but he had just left by the prairie routes. They travelled west where Jesuit missionaries told of seeing him, but he had gone north and was not due back until fall. Basil returned home, and the days of waiting dragged into months. Winter came and went, and now rumors were that he was in the Michigan forests. Resuming her pursuit, all she found were traces of the elusive phantom. Her story is much like that of the Acadian people themselves, who came to be the most nomadic on earth.

Worn out, gray and old before her time, she became a Sister of Mercy in Philadelphia. An epidemic broke out, and not caring for her life, she went to nurse the sick in an almshouse. There, among the destitute, she found the dying Gabriel in time to close his eyes. In his last moments his feverish mind had been with his beloved. Evangéline in Grand-Pré. With a prayer of thanks she pressed him to her bosom as he breathed his last with her name on his lips.

In Acadia this poem is read, devoured in parishes and homes. The most educated people translate it and explain it. In schools, students memorize it. They weep or rage. They give the name Evangéline to girls, and no one seems to note that Lajeunesse is Canadian, not Acadian. The story is what matters.

LE GRAND DERANGEMENT

The past of the French Acadian people who came here from Nova Scotia is a long story of persecution by the English, a century of uncertainty when their country changed allegiance nine times, a continuous struggle with unequal arms. It is no wonder that one man, who could not endure any more, asked, «Does God not make any more lands for the Acadians?»

Historians do not agree on the origin of the word *«Acadie»*, but most accept that it is derived from an Indian word meaning «place fertile in». Today, Acadia signifies the three maritime provinces: Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island.

Until 1755, our forefathers had persisted in refusing to take «The Big Oath», as it was called, unless they were assured that in case of war they could take a neutral stand and not have to fight against the French, their brothers, or the Indians, their old allies. Here is the oath: «Je promets et jure en foi de chrétien, que je serai fidèle et j'obéirai à Sa Majesté George II, que je reconnais comme le Souverain Seigneur de l'Acadie ou Nouvelle-Ecosse. Ainsi que Dieu me soit en aide.» However, when Governor Lawrence came into power, he insisted that they now take it or be drastically punished. Delegates sent to intercede were jailed, and missionary Leloutre advised several families to leave secretly, since at the time no one could leave the country at will. On August 3, three priests were arrested, but not before they consumed the Hosts in their Churches; all church records were destroyed. Before they were shipped out, the holy men instructed the stunned people to strip the altars, spread the funeral cloth on the pulpit, and put on it the crucifix - they had only Jesus Christ for priest now.

Not long after came the famous order for all men, from the oldest to boys about ten years old, to meet at the St. Charles Church at Grand-Pré on Friday, September 5, at three in the afternoon, for «a special message from the king.» No excuse, under any pretext would be accepted, and those who did not go would have their property confiscated. The same order was read in the neighboring parishes. Some families fled to the woods with whatever belongings they could carry. But that is how 418 Acadian men and boys found the church doors locked behind them, and listened in shock and disbelief while Winslow read to them and someone else translated, that all their lands, crops, buildings, livestock, etc. were being confiscated, and that they and their families were to be deported. After five days of being held prisoners, they were led to the beach, at bayonet point when they resisted, where vessels awaited them, with more boats coming from Boston.

On October 8, a sorrowful file, one and one half miles long, between the church and the beach, started the embarkation - old people broken with grief, the sick and infirm on stretchers, women carrying small babies, frightened children, separated families to be put on different vessels bound for different places. The first three boats were the *Endeavor*, the *Industry* and the *Mary*, with the Boston firm of Apthorp & Hancock as agents in settling with the owners of the vessels for transportation.

Night fell...both at sea and in all hearts. As they made for the high seas, their last look lingered on the dark silhouettes of their homes against a glowing red sky; the last things they heard were the moaning of those who had been found by soldiers with bloodhounds, and were being punished amidst the oaths and laughter of the English. The boats were fish transports which had not even been cleaned and were so crowded that there was not enough space to lie down. The necessities for the old and sick had not been brought, so many were soon released from their misery by death.

They were left, literally seeded, all along the Atlantic shores, from Boston to Georgia. Those who were left furthest went to Louisiana which was still a French colony; and today, they have very much the same culture as ours. In Virginia no one wanted the unfortunates, so they were sent to England, where half died in seven years. A very small number stayed in the English states where they were sent; and those who did, with few exceptions, have just about lost all trace of their origins. Always, they tended to regroup and come back, many going to Québec where they were absorbed by the French population, but few returned to their homeland.

In 1776, a caravan of about 200 families walked up from Massachusetts through the woods; about 30 of those families stayed in the Fredericton area, on the St. John River. They did not have legal title to the lands they took, so with the arrival of the Loyalists, they had to move further north. This time they crossed Grand Falls, where they knew the vessels of war could not follow them.

It was June, 1785, and they had arrived. Their names were Duperre, Potier, Daigle, Fournier, Cyr, Ayotte, Thibaudeau, Sansfaçon, and Mercure. Of these, the Cyrs have stayed the most localized in Madawaska. Others to come later from the same place were: Cormier, Violette, Amirault, Martin, Mazerolle, Leblanc, Gaudin, Hébert, Thériault, etc. Many are so typically Acadian that they are recognized everywhere: Comeau, LeBlanc, Légère, Gaudet.

ACADIAN SKETCHES

It was back in 1714 that the Lord of Trades decided to keep the Acadians by force on their own land when they wanted to flee the persecutions. This law was in force for 40 years.

Such was the naïveté of the Acadians that when they were summoned to the church for the deportation, they thought that this was still a question of the oath. They knelt because this was the house of God, even though inhabited by English soldiers. Also, they were imploring His help in this hour of distress. Meanwhile Winslow, who had had orders to leave the country an uninhabitable wilderness to prevent their return, took his place at a table in the middle aisle. From there he delivered the crushing blow that left them numb with grief. Slowly they made their way to the doors, to tell their families, but were rudely turned back with bayonets.

The next day Winslow gave in to their weeping requests that some of them be let out to tell their wives and mothers what had happened. He let go 10 from Grand-Pré, 10 from Rivière-aux-Canards, every day by turn on condition that the others were responsible for them. If they did not return, then punishment was to be inflicted upon the next of kin or the next neighbor.

Until the actual separation of families began, they had submitted, but now they cried and refused. Soldiers with fixed bayonets ordered them to march. So they started, slowly, praying, some singing hymns, all weeping - being met by the women all the way, some following on their knees. It was a sad sight indeed to see husbands and sons kissing the medal hung from their necks and tossing it to a wife or mother; and she, understanding, holding it tightly, kissing it back and returning it to him. Many of these were never to meet again.

Thinking that perhaps they were still being deceived and would return, the women locked their wardrobes hoping to find again the precious cloth woven by their own hands. Some dropped their money into wells, others buried it in chests or earthen pots where they were found by the English settlers six years later.

The first fleet set sail on October 27, 1755, with almost 4,000 Acadians encircled by three warships equipped with cannons. Six hundred eighty-eight buildings at Grand-Pré and Rivière-aux-Canards, representing the labors of six or seven generations, were in flames. The water in some of the wells had even been poisoned.

In November of the same year, hundreds of fugitives had escaped to the St. Lawrence where they lived in huts, dressed in rags. The winter was severe with lots of snow; and when they were found, many were unable to walk. Said a missionary, «These people died in great numbers that winter, and those who escaped death did not escape the horrible contagion and famine which reigned, driving them to eat the leather of their shoes and carrion.»

* * *

The English even introduced smallpox among the Indians by means of contaminated blankets, and more than 200 died.

* * *

It was the ship *Pembroke*, bearing 232 exiles from Port Royal, that was mutinied under the leadership of a Beaulieu, an old master mariner, and landed at the St. John River (in the Fredericton area).

* * *

For nearly one hundred years, some Acadians had for food only potatoes, salted fish and pork, plus berries, roots and herbs found in the woods. Many did not remember what bread tasted like. Under such conditions, it is not surprising that many recipes were forgotten.

* * *

In 1760, having learned of the fall of Québec, and that the French had lost, they were fully resolved to die rather than surrender to the English. In spite of famine and unbearable hardships, they remained sincere and devout, a truly Christian and God fearing people. Today the Acadians harbor no hatred for the English for the wrongs suffered at the hands of their fathers.

* * *

In 1766, the caravan that came up

through the Maine woods found in New Brunswick friends and relatives they had not seen for 11 years. Some stayed there; others went on to their old homes only to find everything changed. The only things that remained the same were the wells, the dykes, the willows, and apple orchards. They went further south to St. Mary's Bay, having travelled on foot 1,000 miles, and lands were granted them the next year. When the English colonists, who had now built homes on the ashes of theirs, arrived, they met a few straggling families who had not eaten bread for five years.

LOG CABINS AND MOCCASINS

It was in June of 1785 when the would-be Founders of Madawaska abandoned the little Parish of Ste Anne des Pays-Bas.

After ten days of difficult march, they perceived the valley was getting wider, with soft undulations and contours, and knew that they had reached their «promised land». On the virgin soil of the south side of the river, about one and one half miles from where the St. David church now stands, Joseph Daigle planted a wooden cross which all saluted as a sign of salvation and hope in the future. The Cyrs chose this farm, and it remained in the Cyr family for five generations. The Dufours were to settle further up, as the Héberts, Daigles, etc. Land belonged to whomever cleared it, and this they set about to do at once, with the center of the colony being a short distance from the actual St. David Church. Land holdings were divided in long narrow fields stretching away from the river, which accounts for their later being called «suspender farms». This was so that each had a varied terrain with combined advantages, such as river frontage for fishing and water outlet, level lands for farming, and hilly lands for timber and maple sugar.

In the second year, Father Leclerc had the joy of celebrating Mass in the little bark covered chapel erected by the colonists, not far from where the St. Basile church is today. From Kamouraska arrived the families Soucy, Albert, Michaud, Levasseur, Chaurest, and Saucier; then came the Dubés, Beaulieus, and Gagnés from Isle Verte; Guimonds and Ouellets from Rivière-Ouelle, and Desnoyers from Rivière du Sud. Later came the Gosselins, Bellefleurs, Vaillancourts, Auclairs, Tardifs, Marquis, Racines, Laforests, Lizottes, and Smiths.

Even though the New Brunswick authorities had promised them title to their lands three years after occupation, they had to wait five. Many, still suspicious of false promises, left. But in 1790 Joseph Mazerolle and 51 others were given documents making them legal owners of their farms. Conditions were that they pay annually to the provincial treasury two shillings for every 100 acres granted, clear in less than three years three acres on fifty given, construct a home at least 20 by 15 feet, and drain the marshes.

With wooden harrows and plows, they set about carving their domains. Lacking tools and materials, they built crude log houses caulked with moss and covered with birch bark. In the center of the only room was the hearth, a large chimney of stones cemented by mortar made of clay. It was used to heat, cook, and give light by night. There were a few benches, sometimes tree stumps to sit on, a table, storage chests, and always, a cradle for the new addition that came every year. Women helped with the crops, did the weaving, spinning, knitting, making of clothes, gardening, washing by hand, milking and housekeeping. Everything was homemade or grown; a few articles like salt, oil, and molasses were transported by canoe, sleds, or on the backs of men from Rivière-du-Loup, eighty miles away. Clothes were of rough gray, homespun, and all wore boots or moccasins made from animal hides. Crops grew reasonably well, but soon the Acadians realized that they would have to move further upland to escape the flooding of the river, which recurrently submerged their houses and barns every spring.

«C'ETAIT LÀ NOS PÈRES»

Our fathers arrived in the most abject poverty, with no resources, no instruction, with only one aim...to be forgotten. For a time they succeeded so well in achieving complete isolation and abandonment, avoiding being known and attracting attention, that they nearly ended by forgetting themselves. At the time of the deportation in 1755, more than 50 percent were literate, a respectable proportion for the time. However, 50 years later, this figure had dwindled to 25 percent. Not only had they not advanced, they had retrogressed. In time, however, through their proverbial stubbornness and strength of will, these ancestors of ours were to take their rightful place in the political, economic, intellectual and religious world. We shall see that they had special characteristics, many of which are still encountered after nearly 200 years.

They were *à la fois Breton et Normand*, meaning that they originally came from Brittany and Normandy in northwestern France. Physically, those of Nordic strain were fair complexioned, tall, blue eyed, with long heads and thin hair. The former were dark, shorter, with large square jaws, handsome and well built. The women were often very pretty, talked and laughed a lot, and dominated the household. They excelled, as they still do, in needlework of all kinds.

We do not deceive ourselves in believing that they all possessed outstanding characteristics. Some were the scum of the earth, fugitives from justice, ruffians and misfits; others were ordinary men, women, and children, just as we are today. The typical Acadian was honest, hospitable, patient in adversity and noted for his courage in difficult circumstances. He was cheerful, spiritual, a great lover of song and fun, and probably would not have survived had he not been so stubborn! He was inscrutable, reticent and quite pessimistic. He would never give a direct yes or no answer, but when he had given his word, it was *parole de roi;* and there was no greater insult than saying of someone that he had failed his word. Although a little negligent in his work and apt to trust in Divine Providence, he was naturally inventive, adept in construction and woodwork. Consequently, he often exchanged his time building for the Canadian, while the latter, who surpassed him in agriculture, plowed fields and cleared land for him.

A born philosopher, working in a dreamy melancholic silence, he nevertheless had a great fear of appearing sentimental. It was entirely fit and proper to discuss an interesting case of bunions or heartburn, but one did not speak freely of matters of the heart, and he quickly turned away when tears filled the eyes or a lump came to the throat.

Nothing came before his own nationality, his Roman Catholic religion, and his French language. He clung tenaciously to the customs and traditions of his fathers. Families were large and of prime importance. Parents were totally respected and their decrees obeyed. These people extracted a hard living from the soil, but still found sweetness in their days... sorrow, joys, tragedies, all were shared. Lending and helping each other prevailed in true Christian spirit. Sudden laughter sustained them in their pains, prayer inclined their souls to resignation, and hard work brought consolation to their sorrows.

The first three parishes in Acadia were Port Royal, Grand-Pré (St. Charles Church), and Beaubassin, with Sulpician priests.

* * *

Grand-Pré means large meadow.

* * *

«Men use rough words and harsh, sometimes, by reason of the very gentleness and pity that are in their souls.»

Ouida

* * *

Profoundly religious, crime, theft, and debauchery were unknown among them. Good or bad, they accepted their lot in life as the will of God without murmur.

* * *

We find striking points of resemblance between the maritime Acadians and those of Louisiana, although they have not had contacts for two centuries.

* * *

REDSKINS AT HOME

The primitive site of the Malecites, who were to become the most faithful allies of the Acadians, was at one time where the city of Edmundston now stands, and was called Madoueskak. There is controversy among translators...some say the name was Micmac for «porcupine place», while others claim it meant «a junction of rivers» or «grass lands extending to the river banks». More agreed with the porcupine theory, because of the prevalence of this animal in the region.

This tribe numbered about 300, and belonged to the Abenakis (Dawn People), who in turn belonged to the Algonquins, one of the most important Indian races. As soon as our forefathers arrived, two young men were delegated to visit the Indian chiefs, to tell them they were here, and that the elders would meet them the next day. At first a little wary, the Malecites soon let fall their suspicions and cordially received the white men in the room of the grand council, which was filled with warriors. This diplomatic visit was worth much to the Acadians because Chief François-Xavier had, at the time, some 200 warriors under his orders, and the Acadian representative would have been at their mercy had any differences occurred. As it happened, the old chief's pride was flattered and he took them under his protection.

The Malecites were expert hunters and fishermen, and taught the newcomers the basic principles of becoming woodsmen, trappers, guides, and of surviving in the woods. Some of their canoes were hollowed out from logs, others made of hides stretched over frames; but by far the most beautiful was the bark canoe. Covered on the outside with paper birch, its joints waterproofed with pitch pine and other natural gums, it was lightweight, graceful, easily controlled, and rode the water as silently as a fallen leaf. Until the coming of the white man, nails were unknown. Long pliable roots and animal sinews were used for binding, sewing, and the making of snowshoes. Trees for canoes were cut only in the dark of the moon, because it was believed the wood was then less subject to worms and rot.

The Malecites were nomads, and did not care for work nor for well-made homes, which were deserted part of the year while their occupants engaged in warfare with their enemy, the Mohawks. The vegetables to be raised and harvested were left to the women. They were true slaves, but strangely enough, more cruel than the men and took part in all massacres of prisoners and barbaric celebrations that accompanied these scenes of cruelty. On the march, they served as pack horses, and could usually carry more on their backs and heads than most white men.

Killing of large game was not only for food, but also for many inedible by-products. Deerskin was used for moccasins, thongs and clothing; sinews for thread and bowstrings. Antlers and bones were fashioned into skin-dressing tools, arrow points and ornaments. Bags and containers of various kinds were made from the paunch and bladders. Deerskins could be tanned soft, much superior to cloth in durability and warmth. Fish was cured by drying and smoking. The Indians taught the whites the many uses of herbs, roots and plants for their aches and pains; even that the lumps from spruce trees, tangy and purple hued, made a pleasant, long-lasting chewing gum.

Today, the descendants of the Malecites are on the Tobique reservation, little given to agriculture, and decreasing in numbers. They have kept the nostalgia of the woods, do not closely associate with the white race that dispossessed them, and prefer to blend with the shadows of the last oaks of the ancestral forest and await the death of their race.

NOBLE GESTURE

In spite of their faults, our forefathers had indisputable virtues which have furnished to our history and that of the church some of its most beautiful pages. The following is one which very well depicts their religious spirit and deserves special mention. If we speak so often of religion, it is because here as in all of Acadia, it preceded civil authority, the priest being known long before the surveyor.

In 1786, Father Leclerc from Isle Verte came to visit our colonists and added this new mission to his already too large territory, which extended to the Gaspé Peninsula. In a little chapel covered with birch bark he performed the first marriage, between Simon Hébert and Josephte Daigle.

In March, 1792, the Acadians learned that Father Paquet, who had succeeded Father Leclerc, could not come to them so they could make their Easter duties. After a meeting, it was decided that all who felt capable of walking 100 miles on snowshoes would go to Isle Verte for that purpose. The walk took two days; and Father Paquet, moved to tears by such an act of faith, lodged the weary pilgrims in the rectory where they talked long into the night.

The next day, after Mass and communion, he praised them publicly for their fervor. «Such sentiments are worthy of the first Christians,» said he, «and of your fathers who were always remarkable for their piety, their devotion to the church and its clergy.» The Acadians expressed their wish to have him come and visit them in the summer, but he exclaimed, «No, I will go right now, even if I have to walk night and day!» Fifteen days later he was in St. Basile, to the great joy of the old men and women, and the children who had not been able to make the trip.

With all the facilities we now have to attend church services, this might be a good time to ask ourselves, in all sincerity: «If Sunday mass became non-obligatory, would I still go?»

THE «COUREURS DES BOIS»

Although the Indians were without dispute the first inhabitants of Madawaska, the valley was perhaps best known by the intrepid *coureurs des bois.* During the struggle between France and England in 1755 to 1760, the route of the St.John and Madawaska Rivers was the «Key of Canada», permitting the French to detour strategic points at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. In 1756, there were two French posts: Grand Falls and Lake Temiscouata. Madawaska was a relay post for the couriers, the militia and messengers of the king who passed this way.

Theirs was a hazardous and perilous function, especially in time of war. At the risk of their lives, for fifty dollars a trip, they covered more than 600 miles, in bark canoes in summer and on snowshoes in winter. This they accomplished in less than 15 days, averaging 40 miles a day. In dark homespun, animal hide moccasins, gun on the shoulder, sheathed knife in belt, pipe between the teeth, brave and stubborn as «Bretons», superstitious as Mohawks, they went their way, faithful to God and proud of their mission in life. Those who could not read memorized the letters and characters of their messages; then, they relayed them to the recipient who often could not read nor write either. Staying overnight on a delivery, they recounted all the news seen on the way, often embellishing messages with compliments that were highly appreciated.

The most famous of these were Joseph Dufour, the brothers Louis and Michel Mercure and Jean Baptiste Martin. One night in 1783, Joseph Dufour (who allegedly brought the news of our independence here after the Revolutionary War) and his companion Archibald McNeil were assassinated at the mouth of the Siegas River, about 6 miles from St. Leonard, by two Indians who were after «fire-water». One of the murderers, Charles-Nichau Noïste, was executed at Québec; the other, François L'Harguenion, was saved by the intervention of his chief, François-Xavier, at Québec the following year.

By 1850 the American side had 4 post offices from Grand Falls to St. Francis. Mail was transported by horse drawn vehicle, with the driver announcing his arrival by sounding a horn. Postage stamps came into use, 2 cents covering delivery to all parts of the United States and Canada. Before that, a fee was paid according to distance traveled. Newspapers were still a luxury article, and the few available were passed around from hand to hand. Couriers were still used for long distances and official messages, until progress in transportation made this honorable occupation obsolete.

NOTES ON THE VALLEY

The oldest record of exploration of the St. John Valley goes back to 1612. A map of the region was drawn in 1699, indicating four Indian settlements on the river.

* * *

The Indians of New Brunswick and Maine, the Malecites, Abenaquis, Medoctetes, along with the Micmacs of Acadiak, constituted one big family.

* * *

The Malecites, a tribe of about 5,000, lived in the St. John Valley, and were also called the Etchemins. The Abenaquis, numbering about 10,000, lived along the Maine coast. The Etchemins coast, now New Brunswick, was a territory rich in furs.

ST. BASILE AND ST. DAVID

The three pivots of all durable society - religion, family, and property, existed from the first in Acadia and served as a base for its development. The Catholic faith was as solidly rooted in the Acadian soul as the old oaks in France. Our forefathers left us valuable lessons of valor and energetic spirit, which are not to be disdained in this time when too many drift into an indifference for all that is noble and ethical.

The old Mission volante de Ste-Anne des Pays-Bas automatically disappeared in June of 1785 when about 15 canoes with a few families arrived on our shores. The numerous Cyrs went further down to L'Anse aux Croques, while others, such as the Mercures, chose the north side.

Only two years later, in 1787, Father Leclerc was saying Mass in a little birch bark covered chapel erected by the colonists. There are diverse ideas on the actual site. Some say it was near where St. Basile church is today, not far from the river. Others claim it, and the first cemetery was at St. David, a couple of miles below the actual church. There was no resident priest until 1792 when the parish of St. Basile was officially founded, making it one of the most ancient parishes since the expulsion of the Acadians. The only two older ones were Memramcook and Caraquet.

In 1793 a new church was up, made of big pieces of squared lumber, measuring 55 feet long by 35 feet wide, with a large cross instead of a spire. It was blessed with pompous ceremony and a solemn Mass. The rusty voices, hoarse with emotion, silent for 40 years, alternated with that of the pastor and echoed in the depths of the forest. The canticles recalled heart-rending memories to those who had heard them at Grand-Pré so long ago. Following this, Joseph Daigle, who had been first marguiller, or church warden, and was now an old man, turned his duties over to his successor, Alexandre Albert, declaring with legitimate pride that all expenses paid, there remained in the treasury sixty-nine louis d'or. This church had 27 pews in 4 rows. Simon Hébert had the first two along the wall, and the others were as follows: Jacques Cyr, Michel Mercure, Paul Thibodeau, Chrysostome Cyr, Jean Levasseur, Joseph Edouard Cyr, Joseph Thibodeau, François Martin, Joseph Cyr, François Cyr, Pierre Duperré, Michel Cyr, Joseph Saucier, Jean-Marie Cyr, Joseph Daigle, Jean François Thibodeau, Louis Mercure, Simon Beaulieu, Olivier Thibodeau, Zacharie Ayotte, Joseph Michaud, Pierre Lizotte, Benjamin Thériault, David Dufour, Joseph Dufour.

At the dawn of the 19th century, the bishop of Québec found 446 persons in this parish. He confirmed 186, including 58 Indians, ranging from 12 to 80 years of age. The first priest from the region to be ordained (1830) was Prosper Cyr. His father, Eloi Cyr, and stepmother drowned in the St. Lawrence while on their way to his ordination. Crushed by this tragedy, he himself died within a few months.

Several years later the residents on this side of the river sent a petition to Msgr. David W. Bacon, bishop of Portland, asking admission to his diocese. They listed several reasons, such as the great inconvenience for them of crossing the river to accomplish their religious duties. Many had drowned, lost horses or vehicles, or were deprived of the last rites during the formation or breaking up of the ice. Also, Maine laws demanded a report of all marriages, births and deaths, which they had neglected to send because Canadian priests were under bishops from St. John and Chatham. A similar petition, signed by Louis Cormier and 1,018 others, was also sent to Pope Piux IX, adding that he please send them a French speaking priest.

In 1871 the parish of St. David was thus founded, and named in honor of Bishop David Bacon. The church was constructed on terrain furnished by Mrs. Ephrem Michaud, with Rev. Sweron serving, although not in residence. Until 1881 the parish had several different priests serving under his administration. Then Father Eugene Bernard took charge as first resident pastor. He re-established the financial system, repaired and finished the church, and put order everywhere. He was succeeded by Father Gory, who constructed the actual rectory. Then came Fathers Etnaud, Huot who constructed the actual church, Pelletier and Martin.

* * *

St. David is called the cradle of Madawaska.

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

Acadians descend mostly from the expedition of Razilly in 1632 when several men of nobility came to Acadia, a few bringing their families. Many surnames in the St. John Valley are those of the early colonists of Port Royal. Some have become Anglicized, others have changed so that they are not recognizable, while still others have disappeared entirely. The familiar ones, besides those of the first families mentioned earlier, are: Babin, Blanchard, Doucette, Landry, Morin, Paradis, Poirier, Richard, Robichaut, Arsenault, Pelletier, Pinette, Voisine, Roy, Toussaint, and Lagassé. The Daigles came from Anjou, and were Daigre or D'Aigle; Cyr was Sire; and Pitre became Peter.

The same Christian names appeared in every family. While doing research it is not unusual to come across two children from the same family, of different ages, who bear the same name. (Perhaps one was named after another who had died). The most common were: Marie, Marguerite, Anne, Catherine, François, Pierre, Michel, René, Charles, Antoine, Guillaume and Jacques.

Names were also used for functional purposes. For example, if someone of German or English extraction came, the foreign name was hard to pronounce, so he became L'allemand (the German) or L'anglais (the Englishman). When a German named Franck arrived, his name was accepted as such because its French phonetic counterpart was easy.

When a family was related to another name through generations, double names were used. Examples are: Roy dit Desjardins, Hudon dit Beaulieu. There was one called Louis Gatte, dit Bellefleur, dit L'Oiseau. An old citizen affirms that one of the first Bellefleurs in the region was named Loison, of which L'Oiseau would be a corruption.

French Acadians, in retaliation for the English actions against them, named their animals, Jim, Blackie, Jess, etc... so they could hurl invectives at them, even use the whip when necessary, while bringing down the wrath of heaven on such names. The English themselves are still called *les têtes carées* or *les grosses têtes.*

Then there was the giving of nicknames, of which our race seems to be so fond. A certain line of Cyrs was *Les Croques.* The original *croques* was Jean Cyr, born at Beaubassin in 1710, ancient soldier of Father LeLoutre and father of nine sons. He hated the English with such a passion that his friends would tell him, *«Croques-les!»* or «If the English bite you, bite them back!» Many other names related directly to family characteristics, such as lean or stout, such as Le Sourd, etc. Some people did not mind the name calling, while others were only called these names behind their backs, or purposely to make them furious.

Joseph was abbreviated Jos, then pronounced Yoe. In one instance, both father and son were Joseph, so the younger was *Yoe à Bonhomme (Joseph à Joseph,* not being a sufficient distinction).

Whatever the names were, history states that when Acadia was being colonized, France's minister, Cardinal Richelieu, gave orders that all colonists had to be ardent Catholics, of good moral character, and with excellent reputations.

* * *

CANDLE MAKING

Before kerosene or gas lamps, the candle was the only means of illumination, and every home made its own water candles, or *chandelle à la baguette.*

A great caldron of hot melted suet was set beside a tub of cold water. Four or five twisted wicks were attached, with a weight at the end of each, to a horizontal stick. These were dipped in the suet, pulled out, plunged in cold water, the process being repeated until the candles were of proper thickness.

The candle was lumpy and rough; it smoked and gave off a limited circle of yellowish red. But, at once humble and proud, its plucky rays lit the patient labors of our mothers. They guided her bare feet to the cradle and were faithful even unto death, when all during the wake they kept silent vigil at the head of the deceased.

Blessed at Candlemas Day, these candles were lit for protection against the fury of lightning and sudden floods. Later came the candle mold, and suet was replaced by wax. But how simple life was by the light of the water candle!

WIVES AND MOTHERS

Colonization cannof succeed without the help of women. It was our mothers who prevented our race from disappearing in the mass of the Anglo-Saxon population. It was they who, with the faith of Brittany and the songs of France, perpetuated in this vast America a proud generation. They were the conservative element, the stabilizing influence that affixed a displaced people to the soil, with their routine lives and ancestral habits.

Back in the 17th century, the Canadians had *le don du roi* when they married. Louis XIV accorded a premium to all young men who married before 20, girls before 16, and another to families of 12 children. So the most authentic wealth of these people, who had neither influence, privilege, nor distinction in the world of affairs, was their numerous offspring. One child followed the other so closely that in neighboring families, one might have 18 children, the other 22.

What the young woman did not bring to marriage in dowry, she furnished in the honesty of her soul, in her indomitable courage and in the spirit of sacrifice required to raise a large family. She cooked, hauled water and wood, did the laundry in wooden tubs, made soap, fashioned candles from suet and tallow, and learned the different uses of herbs and roots for treating disease.

She had nothing to say in the affairs of church or village; but if the men made the laws, women made the customs. How heavy is the debt we owe to these generous women who, by the fruits of their untiring labor, have modeled, affirmed and guided the development of so many little beings! In their homes they preserved the language, the religious and happy atmosphere that was sacred to their ancestors. The soul of the child, the man of tomorrow, was molded by their example, their lullabies and cherished traditions.

While men were more inclined to look toward the future, women conserved the element of the past. To all heroic Acadian women we owe a tribute of admiration and recognition. Along with our physical life, we derived from them the best that is in us: our Christian faith, and a family spirit that sustained the French resistance in diverse regions where continue to multiply the old Acadian names of 1671-1700. Theirs was a strength more powerful than that of all their enemies, that inclined them to pray for their tormentors. It was Faith. Only a deeply rooted faith can save the human soul from despair as it experiences crucifying trials, and that has been the secret of their survival. Theirs is a story of tragedy and heroism, of hate and love, of persecution and triumph, truly a splendid heritage that no riches could buy.

SOAP MAKING

When spring came, the family of *l'ancien temps* had a large accumulation of grease to be made into soap. To make lye, the housewife added hardwood ashes to cold water and rosin in a wooden tub. This was mixed well and allowed to stand until settled. The clear liquid was dipped with china pots or jars, not metal nor granite.

The fat was added and this was brought to a rolling boil, while someone watched, ready to throw in a handful of snow if the mixture threatened to boil over. When the soap had reached the right consistency, it made a ball in cold water or threaded from the wooden spoon. Salt was added, and the caldron was allowed to cool overnight.

The next day, the soap that had separated to the top was cut into irregular blocks for the year's supply, the bottom liquid was potash *(de la potasse)* and was used to wash rugs and especially dirty clothes.

LE TOUR DE LA FAUX

The eleven year old boy had cut oats with the scythe all afternoon, his father or other men coming to sharpen it every once in a while because it became dull oftener than when cutting hay or other grain. He was proud because with his help, the other men could finish their own work much earlier than they had anticipated.

The next day, however, he awoke with a headache accompanied by fever and aches all over, such as he had never had before. There was absolutely no position he could take to make himself comfortable. His mother had him drink infusions and was at a loss as to what to do for him. Then the wise father said, «Now I know what the matter is – *Il a le tour de la faux!*» This happened over-exercising certain muscles; and the only remedy, besides time, was to go back and do more of the same work.

TWO CHOSEN PEOPLE

Two devoted souls, consecrated to God and sent to St. Basile in 1880, deserve special mention when we study the history of Madawaska. They are Rev. Louis Napoléon Dugal and Rev. Sister Maillet.

In 1873 four Hospitalières de St. Joseph arrived from Montréal at the request of Msgr. Rogers. In November, there were seven with Mother Davignon as superior, and classes and the hospital opened the following year. The poverty and misery, the many nights when they went to bed cold and hungry, the utter desolation of the cloister are still remembered by some of the older sisters. Although they did not refuse charity, they did not ask for it either, and outsiders were more apt to pity than to help them.

In 1880 Rev. Sister Maillet was sent to them, a daughter of God that will live forever in the memory of those fortunate enough to have known her. Cheerful and loving, she nursed the adolescent Madawaska with a tenderness that surpasses that of a mother for her sick child. She murmured into its soul, exasperated to the point of revolt againt a lot too hard to endure, her sweet words of encouragement. On its obstinate forehead she relit the noble intelligence imprisoned there by indigence and neglect. For more than a quarter of a century her hospital was the only refuge of the sick, open to poor and rich alike. On her golden anniversary, one priest said of her, «If there are no sick in heaven, Mother Maillet will not want to stay.»

In 1885 the angular stone of the actual convent in St. Basile was blessed. Today, it still stands on the historic hill at the center of the most beautiful scenery of the valley, reminder of an era of veritable progress.

Msgr. L. N. Dugal was also a distinguished founder of Madawaska. Of its citizens, he had this to say, in part,

> «Our people are Catholics at heart. They prove it every day by insisting to the authorities for the formation of parishes and regular services, close contact with the priests, and better practice of their religion. The spirit of *la famille paroissiale* is very active here—they love the parish, the Church, and the priest is respected. The persistent faith of the parishioners and the protection of Divine Providence are clearly evident here, when we see that from 31 families in 1792, there are so many parishes flourishing with resident priests, and missions that will soon become parishes themselves.»
>
> (Nov. 1919)

VENERABLE OLD CUSTOMS

Les messes blanches were Acadian reunions in the parish church under the leadership of one of the oldest residents. They were the family prayer of the orphans of Acadia who had neither residing priests nor missionaries. At this touching ceremony, the people sang together the Kyrie, the Gloria, and the Credo. They read the ordinary of the mass and the gospel. A pious reading replaced the sermon. Then, while the grown-ups chatted in front of the church, a devoted woman taught the basic principles of the religion to the children, and had them sing a few canticles.

The old parishioner also received wedding vows (which were regularized when a priest came), baptized the newborn, assisted the dying and traced the sign of the cross over coffins and graves.

This went on in Acadia, with the approval of the clergy, until the 19th century. The one presiding had to sit in the nave with the faithful and dress in ordinary clothes; he did not have the right to say *«Dominus vobiscum»*, but could say *«Domine exaudi orationem meam»* – and the bells rang at the Magnificat of vespers!

LE PAIN BENIT

The blessing of the bread was a custom prevalent in the 1800's; it did not replace Holy Communion. On Sunday, one of the more prosperous farmers would bring to church a loaf of bread. The priest blessed it, then it was passed around to the congregation, and everyone took a pinch from it, made the sign of the cross, and ate.

BLESSING OF THE SEEDS

At the end of a Mass before spring planting, the priest would bless a large bowl full of mixed seeds. Then the farmers would each bring a handful home, to be sorted out according to kind. These were the first to be planted, then the rest would be mixed with the regular seed. This practice was given up with the coming of mechanical sowers, because there was always the chance that a few blessed seeds would remain in the hopper.

From Longfellow's Evangéline...

Solemnly down the street came the parish priest,
    and the children
Paused in their play to kiss the hand extended
    to bless them.

Reverend walked he among them; and up rose
matrons and maidens,
Hailing his slow approach with words of
affectionate welcome...

Priest and pedagogue both in the village, had
taught them their letters
Out of self-same back, with the hymns of
the church and the plain-song.

(The plain-song was a Roman Catholic chant. Knowing the plain chant means being able to sing by note).

LA TANTE DU MADAWASKA

In the 1790's there were about thirty families in Madawaska. Besides cultivation of the soil, the industries of the time were maple sugar, fur commerce, and exportation by water of lumber which was much in demand for the construction of the English ships. Already the colony was exporting grain, having more than it could consume. But the severe trial that nearly always comes to new colonies was to bring famine. Two years of floods and September frosts destroyed nearly all the crops, so that 1797 became known as the year of *la grande disette*, or *la misère noire* . . . the year of the great famine.

After the last frost of 1796, the rest of the crop was snowed under by one of the hardest winters known. Many colonists left for Fredericton or went up the St. Lawrence for the winter. Those who stayed lived exclusively on wild meat and herbs.

At the end of a particularly long period of waiting and anguish when the men were gone and snow had fallen for eight days without stopping, all food was gone... the last of the boiled wheat, the last cow slaughtered and eaten. It was during those long days of hunger and anxiety that Marguerite Blanche Thibodeau, wife of Joseph Cyr, accomplished her wonders of heroism and charity. She was the angel protector of the weak, the infirm and sick, and proved to be the saving strength of the miserable colonists. On snowshoes, with a load of clothing and provisions that she would do without or that she had collected, she went from door to door distributing a ray of hope. Laying out the dead, snatching from the grave those who were surely doomed without her help, she gave her care and lifted the morale of those who had given in to their misfortune. At last, one night the men returned, with the body of one who had died of privation and cold, and another dying, but also with a little food. The colony was saved.

Tante Blanche, as she was known, when all her charitable works were revealed, became the object of general veneration. She cured the sick, chased out evil spirits, found lost objects, reconciled enemies, and brought good luck just by wishing it. She softened the most hardened souls, reformed blasphemers, and brought conniving cheaters to live exemplary lives, in the most tender piety. Even hopeless drunkards were more afraid of her word of admonition or the menace of her fist than of a bishop!

More than one mustache was wet with tears when she was lowered in her quasi-royal grave. She was the real aunt of a great number of young families in Madawaska, Leblanc on her mother's side, she was the granddaughter of René Leblanc, the notary of Grand-Pré mentioned in Evangéline. She died in 1810, and was exposed in the church of St. Basile, a privilege never before accorded and to very few since.

(The René Leblanc in question had 20 children and about fifty grandchildren at the time of the deportation. Becoming ill, he was left at New York with his wife and two youngest children, the others were all dispersed to different places. Later he went to Philadelphia, where he found three other children. He died without anyone knowing more about him).

THE WARP AND WOOF OF IT

In every house the spinning wheel and the loom, perhaps with an unfinished web of woolen cloth or flaxen crash upon it, were in evidence. French Acadian women were known for their remarkably beautiful needlework, which their daughters learned at an early age.

Before cloth could be bought, it was homegrown and handmade. Flax, which is best adapted to medium loam and clay soils, grew very well along the valley. A whole family cooperated in pulling up the flax stalks by hand, taking care to leave the fibers as long as possible. Since there was no machinery, every laborious task in this preparation was done by the combined efforts of all able-bodied members of the family, who worked for weeks on end. To the extent which machines have freed people from such combined work, the great family unity has been weakened.

After the stalks had been pulled out, they were bound and set in shocks for drying. Dried stalks were then deseeded (*battre au fléau)* and the seeds were winnowed in the wind and saved for sowing and for medicine. The deseeded straw could then be retted to dissolve the gums that bind the fibers to the woody portions of the stem. This was done either by spreading it thinly on the ground (dew retting), or immersing it in ponds, vats or sluggish streams for several days until the bark loosened sufficiently to be readily peeled off. After being dried again, the stalks were put through a braie to break up the pithy core and loosen it from its fibrous sheath. This core was completely removed by a process called *écorcer*, here, locally, *écocher*. This was the beating of the outside covering of the plant with a wooden object until it loosened and fell from the stalk. Then the short tangled fibers were completely combed out with a special comb, leaving long straight fibers called line fibers, which were further combed and twisted into yarn on the spinning wheel and stored for weaving during the long winter months. About ten hours of labor were required to prepare a pound of linen thread.

The loom was made of pine or cedar. Girls learned to mount the warp threads on the rack and transfer it to the loom, to wind the skeins from the spindles and fill the spools and bobbins. Wool cloth for clothing was woven in herringbone or diamond design, according to preference. Some housewives used cotton and wool for warp and woof while others used all wool. The resultant cloth was the width of half a blanket, so that two widths were sewn side by side, then brushed with a wool comb until soft as angora. A good worker could make about a yard a day if she worked from early morning until dusk.

Tow, which was the short and tangled fibers, could be carded to produce strands of parallel fibers which were then spun into coarse yarns. Worn out clothes were unraveled and the wool recarded, spun and woven into rugs. The fine yarns were used in high quality household linens and dress goods, while the coarser yarns were for crash, twine and heavier fabrics.

For tinting, tea and coffee were popular; also blue indigo and alder branches boiled in water to make couperose, copperas. Black strands were alternated with white to make gray.

A few looms still stand dusty and forgotten in attics, their worn benches pushed aside forever. Spinning wheels are mostly used as ornaments and souvenirs of yesterday.

ON GROWING OLD

The old couple sit and watch their great grandchild in the cradle. Dulled to gray, the corners rounded by hard wear, the points of the rockers worn away by the touch of many a patient foot, the cradle is as old as the family itself. All is well because the lineage continues.

Truly blessed are the hearths where many a birth comes to cheer the inhabitants and bring them perpetual youth.

It seems that not so long ago they came to live here, and continued carving out the domain his father had started. Already they are old, and every tomorrow is more uncertain because all things pass away, and we along with them. For over half a century they have supported, comforted, assisted and endured, they are weary and do not much fear death. Instead, they spend a great deal of time in the deep philosophic calm of the aged, often slipping into short sudden slumbers. Their responsibilities have been relinquished and their religious duties lightened. They are not expected to go to Mass or to keep the rules of fasting, these concessions being made because of the disabilities of old age. The virtuous life of humble people fashions its own reward - a mind at ease, with no regrets.

Outside their home stretches the farm... fields of barley, wheat, oats, hay and buckwheat. Then there is uncleared land, and a sugar cabin on the far horizon. Silently he draws on his pipe, the old Normand type, and his faded eyes linger at the spot where he cut his first tree. They wander toward the rock that his grandfather rolled near the barn, and over the rich brown soil that his ancestors' plows turned over and over. There are other farms, but most of his contemporaries are dead. In the distance, the church steeple gleams in the last rays of the sun that is setting behind the cemetery. There they sleep - Jean, Remi, Baptiste, Joseph, and so many others with memories, traditions and beliefs that are identical to his own. There he, also, will soon rest with *sa vieille* beside him always. It has been a good life, just the same.

According to custom the *bien* has been legally turned over to their inheriting son, and they have taken a life support mortgage. He takes out a yellowing copy from the cupboard in the *grande chambre* and examines it again. He cannot read, but the characters are etched in his mind. The very fact that they are written in English, which he does not understand, imparts them with a special importance. It reads somewhat like this:

> Provided nevertheless, that their son and daughter-in-law (named) will suitably support and maintain them with good meat, drink, clothing, nursing and medicine in sickness and in health during the remainder of their natural lives and provide them with suitable, comfortable houseroom in their home; and at their death they shall be suitably interred according to the rites of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, and there be said for them two Requiem Masses and ten High Masses and twelve Low Masses after their death for the repose of their departed souls... or at their option shall pay them the sum of $150 the first May every year during the remainder of their natural life, or such portion thereof as shall be required by them; this deed shall remain in full force; otherwise, it shall be void.

Both their X's have been put there, between their proper and family names, that are written by a stranger, more literate than they.

What more can a man and wife ask for? Hand in hand, they kneel in front of the black crucifix on the wall and start the evening prayer . . . *«Au nom du Père, du Fils, et du Saint-Esprit . . .»*

By rights, the cradle in a family belonged to the oldest daughter to bring as part of her dowry when she married.

FOR DUST THOU ART

The church bells toll, their hollow sound echoing in the chill November air... three languid strokes on each bell: a man is dead. (See footnote). Then the bells all toll together, each knell dying away before the other is sounded.

A pine coffin is being made for the one who now lies *sur les planches.* These are the boards laid side by side, covered with a white sheet. *La grande chambre*, which is rarely opened, smells of candle smoke, and is slowly being filled with people. Some have come to pray and offer their sympathies, others simply out of curiosity. There is a homemade crêpe at the door, and at the right on entering, a small table with a blessed candle, holy water and a branch of palm.

At night more friends arrive, so that chairs have to be borrowed from the neighbors. The men sit on benches lining the walls, chat about crops and the weather, and make complimentary remarks on the life, ancestry, and character of the deceased. When a person dies, his virtues tend to be extolled and his faults soft-pedalled. A grayish-blue smoke hangs over the room like mist over a plowed field. The women fold their shawls against their breasts and utter pious sighs. Others, more personally involved, with reddened eyes and clenched lips, travel from the kitchen to the bier, shake their heads and leave with downcast looks. Sometimes children, or a spouse, sit for hours, just staring at the face they soon will see no more. Every few hours someone kneels and starts a rosary, and all answer . . . *«Que son âme et celles de tous les fidèles trépassés reposent en paix par la miséricorde de Dieu . . .»*

Food and drink are ordered by custom. For three days, the table is laden with meats, fat pork spread, eggs, jam, maple syrup, molasses, milk and cream. Whoever wants to eat has only to reach out, and some move in for the whole period, for just that purpose. At midnight there is the traditional lunch. Often drinks from a common jug have been passed around outside, or in the barn, all evening; and jokes and stifled laughter are overheard.

The morning of the funeral arrives. A tearful look, a last kiss on the brow, a pat on the hand, a time that wrenches the heart. Members of the family save a lock of hair, a crucifix or the coffin handles for a souvenir. The deceased is put in the coffin and the cover screwed on. All are ready for the funeral rites.

The most intimate friend of the deceased walks first, carrying a black cross. Then, four bearers walk along the coffin, which rides on a horse-drawn wagon. The temperature dropped sharply at dawn and now a cutting sleet of snow pellets drives slantways, ruffling the horses' manes.

And the knell tolls... the little church is packed with parishioners. The priest is in black vestments . . . *Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine* . . . In the balcony the choir has been waiting . . . *Et lux perpetua luceat eis* . . . Everyone is silent. It is now the sequence . . *Dies irae, dies illa* . . .

«Dreaded day, that day of ire...» Now the absolution over the catafalque . . . *Requiescat in pace.* Bursting into fresh sobs, the mourners file out behind the coffin as the choir intones a canticle about our meeting again in heaven . . . *Parents chéris, je pars pour l'autre vie* . . . All cling close together and, if the weather permits, stay until slow ropes lower the coffin in its grave. Each in turn throws a handful of earth and leaves, some so reluctantly that they have to be led away. The dead rests in peace...

A wife in mourning was required to wear

complete black, with a veil (une pleureuse) from the front of her hat to the hem of her dress, for two years; then half mourning for at least another year. Men wore black arm bands if they could not afford a black suit, black ties, black or white shirts, black bordered handkerchiefs, and a three inch square of black crepe on the right side of their hats. For a year after, the family did not attend public meetings, weddings, parties, card playing or any other festivities.

*(The knell (or glas) for a woman: The bells ring twice in slow succession, three times).

THE WONDROUS FOODS OF OUR CHILDHOOD

The forest pressed hard upon the rough buildings, but the noon sun drew a golden path on the broad stretch which axes had cleared, and it was time to come in to dinner. Simple peasants, the color of the soil, they came in to a simple meal. They loved *du lard*, preferring it to partridge and hare. After a bowl of pea soup, salt pork and boiled potatoes and hot tea, they filled their saucers with molasses in which they soaked large pieces of bread. Then they leaned back to enjoy *une touche*.

How good were the foods of our childhood, perhaps so much better to us than to strangers! Possibly it is because we associate them with family, security, love, and freedom from worry and care. Let us recall some of them.

Potatoes were the staple food. The old-time woodsman method of cooking them (sliced raw and laid on top of the stove where they sizzled and toasted, then salted and buttered) has yet to be beat. How about those cooked in ho coals, raked out black as a cinder, with the insides white and fluffy? Then *des potates fricassées*, do you remember?

Meat was fresh game or slaughtered livestock, which could not be kept long. In winter, some was frozen. Families arranged exchanges so that when one was slaughtered, he would return the amount borrowed from the other. When meat could not be frozen, it was salted down in barrels of heavy brine.

Square tailed trout and togue were native to our waters. The former has decreased, while the latter, which was unexcelled for chowder, has entirely disappeared. Salmon was stocked in 1896, and smelt some time later. Deer came only after the country was opened to agriculture because food was too scarce before. Moose, however, was plentiful; but caribou disappeared at the beginning of the century.

Butter was churned by hand, the buttermilk immersed in the brook in earthenware jugs to be used for drinking or in cooking.

Acadians had a marked taste for homemade pastry, especially *des poutines*, a type of dough based on flour or scraped potatoes. Cut and rolled into balls, the dough was dropped into boiling broth, where it cooked and rose to the surface.

Not to be overlooked are buckwheat pancakes, or *plogues*. These were either thin and turned over, or raised. The latter were made with a leaven or yeasty residue that was kept in a wooden bucket from meal to meal. They raised hot and light, with many tiny holes spurting a mouth-watering steam, and were not turned over but stacked and kept hot.

There were cabbage soup, wild berries (fresh in summer, jams in winter), *des grillades, du pain de buckwhit, de la tourtière*, or pork pies. The earthen cellar floor, cool but above freezing, was covered with pumpkins, carrots, beets, turnips, potatoes and onions, *Croquecignols*, a kind of raised doughnut, made of a round piece of dough, slashed and twisted, then fried in deep fat, was a holiday specialty.

(These are called *beignes* in the Province of Québec). They were served with homemade wine - either dandelion, choke cherry, beet, *patte d'oie* or *chassepareil*.

Before table tea could be bought in 1830, tea was made from branches of American larch or tamarack, steeped in hot water. Coffee was barley, roasted in a shallow pan until brown. Beer was concocted from fir tops, soaked in a barrel with yeast and molasses. This was fermented for a few days, and when it settled the clear liquor that resulted was considered not bad at all. On holidays was brought from the bottom of *le grand coffre* a bottle of rum - worth a week's work - but fully appreciated by our ancestors whose love of *un p'tit coup* has not diminished with the generations.

To drink to excess was to *virer une tanante de brosse* or *prendre une brosse*.

OLD EXPRESSIONS

How many do you remember?

When the grandfather says, «J'ai nonante (90) ans», he speaks the language of three centuries ago. The mother who says to her little boy, «Va hucher ton père au bout du champ», uses the old verb *huche* which comes from the Latin *huc* (hither) and means «call in a loud voice».

The Acadian said *farme* for *ferme*, *sarcle* for *cercle*, *sarpent* for *serpent;* thus, *j'voudrais sevrer mon p'tit darnier*.

Pure Acadian: *J'ai remis les hardes de mon père à Joseph, pour qu'il les y donne.*

Superlatives used by the peasants: *Elle est belle, belle. Il fait chaud, chaud. J'étais fâché, fâché.*

Many exaggerations were used to express a point: *Il est laid; ça fait peur! Une tempête, ça faisait trembler.*

For a large quantity: *Il y en a, en veux-tu? N'en v'là!*

Someone is angry: *Il mord dans le fer.*

Someone is lean: *Il est raide maigre.*

Let me . . . *Tchitte-moi faire;* Let me get . . . *Tchitte-moi aller chercher.*

A woman is expecting a baby: *Elle va être malade. Elle est pour acheter. Elle espère. Elle guette (*pronounced *djette).*

Women and girls: *Les creyatures,*

Young men: *Les jeunesses.*

Young boy: *Une p'tit mousse.*

Boy friend: *Un cavalier.*

Girl friend: *Une blonde.* (This had no relation to the color of hair; most Acadian girls were brunette).

Adolescents: *grandettes.*

Having a dominating or haughty manner: *Avoir les voiles en ciseaux.*

A housewarming: *Pendre la crémaillère.*

They designated a place by the people who lived there: *La route des Beaulieus, Le Ruisseau à Violette; Platain des Dufours*, Gagnon Brook, *L'Anse aux Croques.*

What kind of people they are: *De quel bois ils se chauffent.*

They are of the same kind: *Ils se chauffent du même bois.*

A deceased person exposed during the wake: *Il est sur les planches.*

To go bury someone: *Aller porter en terre.*

Where did she say she was going? *Où qu'a dit qu'a va?*

At twilight: *entre chien et loup.*

I'll have a little drink: *J'en prendrais bin une larme.*

Starting something backwards: *mettre la charrue devant les boeufs.*

Someone brave, fearless: *Il ne recule pas d'une semelle.*

Someone wealthy: *Il est riche! C'est le bout des chiffres!*

Someone has become suspicious: *Il a senti le fer.*

To lick the lips over something tasty or smelling delicious: *se fripper les babines.*

A very chaste people, Acadians were reticent on matters of sex: *Un mouton de garde* was *un bélier; un mâle entier, un étalon.*

In France, during the reign of Louis XV, *un jabot* was the front of the shirt. With our fathers, the word meant what was in the shirt. Consequently, the word was never mentioned in public or in front of children.

There was very little blaspheming in the old days. People disguised words instead, such as: *pardienne, saladienne, satan-diable, satredienne.* Then the English introduced to them the word «godam». This they could not swallow, so they changed it to *gadelle.* Still, it was a very relieved old man who walked out of the confessional after having confessed *«d'avoir gadeller cinq fois»*.

SCHOOLS – THE OLD AND THE NEW

Prior to the first organized elementary schools in Madawaska, the literacy of the population was at an all time low. It is said that some ambulatory teachers made efforts to tutor in the homes, but their pay was at a minimum, and so was their knowledge.

At the first town meeting in 1869, the selectmen Olivier Sirois, Michel Cyr and Hyppolite Cyr were also made trustees of the ministerial and school fund, which consisted of $250 for that year for the support of the schools.

At the second town meeting Honoré Hébert was made a one-man school committee. The town was divided into 7 school districts, whose agents were: Michel Cyr, Baptiste Fournier, Vital Hébert, Vital Dufour, Auguste Dionne, Joseph Daigle and Simon Beaulieu. It was proposed to raise another $250 for the support of schools, but this was defeated by vote. However, a special meeting was called in May, and $325 was voted, as required by State Legislature.

As the population of Madawaska increased, new districts were created, until by 1890 there were 15. It was decided to build a free High School house, $60 was voted to buy school books, and subscriptions, besides the regular taxes, were offered by local residents. It is interesting to see who the pioneers of our High School were. Béloni Hébert volunteered to furnish all the windows; Eloi Albert pledged $30; Arthur Daigle, Fleurant Cyr, Laurent Fournier, Jean Cyr, Michel Martin, Vilas Cyr, Vital Bellefleur and Denis Hébert pledged $10 each; Isidore Daigle, Regis I. Daigle and Abraham Dufour, $5 each; Germain Dionne pledged $2. In June, 1890, Madawaska adopted as legal textbooks for use in the public schools Harpers Readers and Copy Books, Harpers Arithmetic and Harrington's Speller. Eloi Albert was then Superintending School Committee. It was also voted that the School Committee would have full management of the Free High School fund, with the following men as trustees: Arthur Daigle, Bélonie Albert and Vital Bellefleur.

By 1891 we find the amount of $325 voted for schools; $200 for the High School; $60 for books; $2 for the washing of the school house where town meetings were held. In 1893, the citizens voted that a «woman is not allow» to teach school in any district of Madawaska. There were now 3 teachers: Vital Beaulieu, Ubald Dufour and Jacques Cyr. In 1894, «any man take money to build or repair school houses, they have to come and settle immediately». Also, the inhabitants were to furnish firewood for the schoolhouses. In 1895, Vital Beaulieu was elected Supervisor of Schools, at $40 a year. 1896 saw the first «truant» officer, whose duty it was «to see that any schoolers able to attend school go to school». He was paid $.50 for each school visited. Teachers were then getting about $20 a month.

In 1908 there was a big discussion about the transportation of children to and from school, but no money was voted for this purpose. However, the town people agreed to pay about $4 each for the heating of the schoolhouses.

Teachers taught children from kindergarten through grade 8, and performed their own janitorial duties besides. Students wishing to further their education would attend Madawaska Training School in Fort Kent or St.Mary's College in Van Buren.

The first secondary school to appear in Madawaska was in 1930. The ninth and tenth grades were added at Evangéline School, thus changing its name to Evangéline High School. The total enrollment of the high school was 44 students. The school operated until 1931 when it was forced to change location because of an increase in enrollment.

In the fall of 1932 the school opened in what was then known as Edmund Cyr's Apartments and is now known as Pelletier's Studio. From 1932 to 1933 it continued as a 2-year high school. Madawaska High School became a 4-year high school in 1933 under the administration of Miss Louise Beaulieu, Principal, and Mr. Albert Martin, Superintendent of Schools. There was no gymnasium available. However, all indoor sports were played across the street in what is presently the upstairs of the Chain Apparel Store.

In 1935 a new high school was constructed. The building is known today as the Acadia School. The enrollment was 250 students including the 7th and 8th grades which comprised the Junior High School. The school was in operation from 1935 to 1949, offering such courses as Commercial, College, Home Economics, Agriculture and General. Mr. Albert Cyr was Principal and Mr. Albert Martin, Superintendent of Schools.

As the enrollment of the high school increased to a total of 350 students, it became necessary to build a new high school. Construction of the main section of the present Madawaska High School building started early in the spring of 1950 and was completed in the fall of the same year. Mr. Eloi Daigle had been appointed Principal in 1948 and continued to serve in that capacity until 1952. Mr. Lawrence Violette was Superintendent of Schools. Because of new equipment and facilities, it was now possible to offer courses in Industrial Education.

In 1962, a two-story wing was constructed adding ten additional classrooms to Madawaska High School The eighth graders from Acadia School occupied the lower floor of the new wing and the Freshmen occupied the second floor.

Further construction continued throughout the year 1968. This included the building of a new gymnasium, cafetorium, Industrial Arts and twelve additional classrooms. The new addition to Madawaska High School permitted new facilities in the Science Department, Home Economics, Music and

and Business Education. It became possible for the first time in the history of Madawaska High School to offer our high school students an adequate library.

Certainly the history of schools would not be complete without mentioning Miss Catherine Albert, daughter of Eloi Albert, who taught in the Madawaska schools for 35 years. If all her past students were assembled, they would make an impressive group indeed.

A graduate of Fort Kent Training School (1897) and Castine Normal School, she devoted her life to the progress of education in our town. For many years she was Helping Teacher, visiting elementary schools, inquiring into their problems and their needs. The particular schools who anticipated her visit held classes on Saturdays to welcome her. She died a few years ago at St. Basile, N.B. at the age of 85.

* * *

Early Acadians had no money and no need for it. A sheep was worth a certain number of bushels of buckwheat. Early trading posts had moccasins and molasses in return for firewood, shingles and more *buckwhit*.

Besides homespun, the first families used furs - of the bear, beaver, fox, otter and marten - and gave not only comfort and warmth but were very good looking. Acadian women loved elegance in clothes.

The men wore pants *à panneau* that buttoned up on both sides; their shoes were of moose skin, or the hides of beef, the end being sewed up, the knee of the animal forming the heel.

To dress warmly was called *s'encapoter.*

The authority of the father and mother used to be absolute. Quand ils l'avaient dit, personne n'eut osé «ostiner». Neither did the younger ones argue with their older brothers or sisters. There was a lot of affection among all members of a family.

A *crémaillère* was a large cooking pot suspended in the chimney or fireplace.

If a girl supplanted her boy friend, *Elle lui faisait manger de l'avoine.*

If someone had talent, intelligence, or ability, *Il avait de la jarnigoine.*

The expression for someone who was very sleepy or for lovers, was *avoir les yeux à la gadel . . .*

To make the Easter duty was later called *faire des Pâques de renard.*

Someone slow was *un bretteux.*

Running around was called *courir la galipote.*

Let him know, *fait y demander.*

A baby's pacifier, called *buveron*, was a piece of rag tied into a roll form, dipped in grease and sugar of molasses.

* * *

THE GARDEN

One old homestead looked much the same as another. The roof was shingled, and the outside was often limed. All were hospitable; no fence forebade entrance. One just walked in and was made welcome. Vines grew along the sides; and on one corner a large barrel collected rain water, soft and precious. In front were perhaps a bench, a white rosebush, and two lilac trees.

Invariably there was a garden on one

side of the house. It was enclosed because animals were left loose to eat at night. One would never have thought so many things grew in such confined dimensions. There were rectangles and rows of peas, beans, turnips, parsnips, cabbage, onions, pumpkins, potatoes, corn, carrots, cucumbers, échalottes and leeks for salt green onions. Then there was flax, camomile, parsley, summer savory, anise, catnip and such herbs for the medicine chest.

In the back were rows of gooseberries (des gadelles), prune trees, choke cherries, and an apple tree. (Apple trees were a favorite, the same as in old Acadia, with the exception that they were not grafted).

Along the borders were the flowers. These were never cut and brought into the house to decorate the table or mantel. Instead, they were left for the glory of God until their petals fell and strewed the alley. Daisies balanced delicately, high on their stems. There were wild roses, hydrangeas, with their persistent flowering, bachelor buttons, heavy-headed peonies and lots of poppies. Then the sweet smelling mignonettes and pansies of all colors, even some with naughty brown faces, not unlike that of a dirty little boy.

Their mission seemed to be to give a festive air to the garden. At night a perfume rose in the air like incense, a perpetual prayer to heaven. Grandmother's garden provided food for both the body and soul, and that was entirely as it should be.

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES OF YESTERDAY

The Catholic faith was not just a Sunday matter to our fathers: it was their perpetual help, their strength, their way of life. If they could come back to earth, they would no doubt be horrified, not scandalized, to see all the changes that have been made in recent years. Well meaning but ignorant, they surrounded religion with all sorts of mysteries, superstitions, and omens. Sometimes it even became a frightening thing, especially when death was concerned.

Suicides, or people who had fallen away from the faith were not brought to church nor buried in the regular cemetery. They were carried over the fence, in the dark of night, to be buried with the unbaptized babies. There was no funeral, nor were their names ever mentioned in church or masses said for them.

While a parishioner was doing public penance (for example, following scandalous behavior) he attended Mass in the vestibule. If someone had committed a public sin or made a «bad» marriage and wanted to make reparation, he had to kneel at the altar with the priest and ask pardon. Later, the priest would announce that this person wished to make *réparation d'honneur.*

At this time of isolation all contracts were by word, which had the force of law. The missionary, with the assistance of a few notables of the place, directed and ruled on discipline and dissensions, which were definitely regulated at Easter time. This was so effective that there was no need for lawyers, magistrates or courts of justice.

The priest was figuratively put on a pedestal. By renouncing secular dress, social contact, and physical pleasures, he simulated a living death and lived in a more or less purely sacred world. Received with the utmost respect in the *grande chambre* when he came on his parish visit, he blessed every bent head, saying the prayers that protect. Then, he counted parishioners, inquired about needs, received confidences, calmed worries, gave counsel, sympathized, encouraged and consoled. He never failed to speak of the ones who had died, recall old memories and strengthen the hopes of his flock. A sled usually followed his sleigh, for *la quête de l'Enfant*

Jésus, and people gave in kind, according to their means.

When he went to give the last rites, the church warden drove a sleigh ahead of him, ringing a bell. Everyone knew «le bon Dieu» was going by, and they came out and knelt by the wayside with bowed heads until he had passed.

One picturesque figure was the church crier. After Sunday mass, he stood on the church steps, announcing coming meetings, frolics, lost and found objects, or holding auction. In November, the month of the deceased, he would have at his feet such an incongruous collection of items as turnips, headcheese (tête fromagée), a roll of carpeting, tobacco, homespun, maple syrup, pumpkins, hens, pigs and geese. This was the chance to give the departed ones a little shove toward heaven. It was not unusual to pay a disproportionately large amount for an item, then give it back to be auctioned again. The money was turned in to the priest to have masses said for the dead.

One particularly charitable custom was that of a farmer giving money for a mass to be said for the most abandoned soul in purgatory.

OF THIS AND THAT

The onion: Onions correct stomach disorders and carry off poisons in the system. They are a good blood purifier, do perfect work in constipation troubles, cannot be surpassed as a vermifuge and, eaten raw, will often check a cold in the head. Well recommended for sleeplessness, it acts on the nerves in a soothing way. The heart of the onion, heated and placed in the ear, will relieve the agony of earache, while the syrup procured from sprinkling a sliced onion with sugar and baking in the oven will work wonders in a croupy child.

The weeping willow, at home on maritime shores, is the Acadian national tree. Besides being chosen for its weeping branches and leaves, symbol of the many tears shed by their people, it was adopted because «the more you cut it back, the more it flourishes», as they have done. A French willow in Annapolis, believed to be 200 years old and measuring 5 feet in diameter, was uprooted by a storm in September of 1932. It was one of the principal souvenirs of ancient Port Royal, and shaded a whole street corner.

Within the recollection of some elder citizens of Madawaska, the Indians along the river used to build earthen domes in the spring which they heated to as high a temperature as they could endure. Then they would enter and stay until covered with sweat after which they'd run out and roll in the snow or jump in the river. This was to «purify their systems» after the long winter. One man remembers a strapping young Indian performing this ritual, and whose body was never recovered from the frigid waters of the St. John.

During lent there was no rejoicing of any kind, no card playing, no games; instead the people sang canticles and said the rosary together.

The youth is the wealth of the country. When the children all got together and helped their father all day, they saved him from paying a day's work, 25 to 30 cents.

Faults typical of the French, of which our ancestors were not exempt: A certain fickleness, an individual vanity and a great love for gossip.

TO DREAM A LITTLE

Omens in dreams were recognizable in advance. Dreams of newly cut wood and new houses or smoke meant death. Blood and flames signified victory.

Breaking a mirror or burning two lamps on the same table meant death within a year. If a bird hit a window in its flight, someone in the family would die soon. And that was how they would say, «Je ne suis pas surpris: j'avais eu un avertissement.»

To dream of your loved one: Take one thimble of salt, one of flour, and water – enough to make three little cakes. Cook, eat them and walk backwards to bed without talking to anyone. Salt produces thirst, and in your dream someone will bring you water. This is your future husband or wife.

If the above does not work, try: During a full moon, look at the moon and say, «Belle lune, jolie lune, fais moi voir dans mon sommeil celui que je désire dans mon réveil.» Walk backwards to bed and do not talk.

THE JUMPING FRENCHMAN

Among Acadians are a few unfortunate persons known as «Jumping Frenchmen». They are so-called because of what seems to be a nervous disorder, hereditary or acquired, that is particular to that race. It has been attributed in part to the hardships suffered by the mothers over many years of persecution. However, it seems improbable that the condition should have survived to this day. And yet it has. The «Jumping Frenchmen» are still with us.

What are the symptoms of this strange affliction? Its victims threaten to throw themselves off a tractor or wagon seat at the unexpected sound of an automobile horn. They will leap up an down, muttering a string of unintelligible words, even in church. They strike, kick, or repeat what you say if you suddenly grab them under the arms. Men have been known to leap into rivers or fires because of the thoughtlessness of a joker.

One stranger had discovered that if he got behind a particular jumper and let out a bloodcurdling scream, the poor Frenchman jumped up in the air and gave off a corresponding yell, then hightailed it for the woods. The wife was also a jumper, and a pretty hefty one at that. One day this prankster made her jump and she broke through the cellar trap door, but not before grabbing his whiskers and pulling them clear out. After that incident, he left the «Jumping Frenchmen» to their misfortune and got his laughs by less painful methods.

THE LUMBER AND DRIVE

The somber giants, in their lonely wildness, with the wind sighing over their tops, were to reign over the wilderness for about fifty years. In 1860, Aroostook had a population of 3500 and it was a time of prosperity. The intense exploitation of forests brought wealth, employment in the woods, and a market for farm products. Every fall heavy barges came up the river, filling with joy the hearts of the colonists at harvest. As soon as winter came, every available man left for the chantiers or lumber camps.

All winter long they cut and hauled, searching for trees of outstanding value in the face of danger, frostbite, and sudden death. Sharp axes slipped on icy surfaces and hard thrown chips or falling timbers sometimes knocked a man unconscious.

The standard ton weight of pine was a sawed log 40 feet long and 1 foot square, with the average virgin pine squaring 5 tons to a tree. Without rivers, yellow pine could never have been the golden harvest that it was, floating logs by the millions to mills and ports where it was in great demand, especially for the building of British vessels.

The loggers' first job was to shape a way to the water. Sometimes they used dry sluice ways, down a hill, made by laying large trunks of trees together the whole length of it. Logs were rolled into the upper end, and descended at such speed that smoke and bark would fly. At other times, a hemlock with its limbs cut about a foot from the trunk was used as a drag which the oxen drew, while a log was attached to it by strong chains. The stumpy limbs prevented the team from being pushed forward too fast, but if that chain had broken it would have meant certain death for them. The best cutter was surrounded with general consideration, as was the pair of horses that could haul the heaviest load.

The crew ate boiled or frozen pork and beans, which they washed down with tea sweetened with molasses. Buckwheat pancakes, of course, were a staple, and sometimes they had salt codfish and potatoes. The evenings were long and the story teller was at his best.

When the ice went out, tons of timber started moving toward the ocean. The crew followed the drive down, camping along the shores. With courage often borrowed from the rum in their hip flask, they rode timbers, jumping from one to the other amidst boiling rapids. Balancing themselves on their pick poles, wet from icy spills, some even met death when they were crushed between jamming timbers or against rocky ledges. Each log was branded with a hewn mark to identify ownership, and most started on the St. John River about ninety miles above Fort Kent.

There was wild rejoicing when the men reached town, spending their money on barrelsful of whiskey, rum and gin. With long hair and beards, in heavy woolen trousers cut off above the ankles as a safety measure, they celebrated for days on end. Red strips of flannel, the remains of colorful shirts, were fastened to tall poles and to the yokes of oxen.

It is no wonder that young ladies were kept inside by their mothers, at least until the boisterous festivity had given way to the inevitable gigantic headaches that followed.

LE MOULIN MURCHIE

Around the year 1880, industry was starting. A sawmill, at the little river Crock was constructed by Remi Pelletier; then one in Connors, and another along the St. John River, below St. François. They furnished employment for many people, sawing boards and making cedar shingles. Those eventually disappeared and are hardly remembered by anyone.

In 1882, the James Murchie & Son Co. bought rights and installed a sawmill on the Madawaska River where Fournier Bridge is today. Its products were exported by Canadian Pacific Railroad outside the county. It employed 50 to 75 men, but because it was run by a water wheel that served as a turbine, it was in operation only about six months a year.

Meanwhile, in 1877, Donald Fraser, the founder of Fraser Companies, Ltd., had begun his career as a lumber operator by purchasing a small sawmill at Rivière-de-Chute in New Brunswick. In 1892 he was joined in this venture by his sons Archibald and Donald, Jr. This undertaking proved most successful and additional mills were built and purchased, and large tracts of timber limits were acquired.

So it was that in 1911, the firm purchased this Murchie Co. in Edmundston. Now known as Fraser Limited, the company continued to expand to a point where, upon the death of its founder in 1916, it had built up into one of the larger lumber businesses in the maritimes, if not in eastern Canada.

The following year, Fraser enterprises were incorporated under federal charter into Fraser Companies, Limited; and in 1918 made its entry into the pulp business when it built a 120 ton per day bleached sulphite pulpmill at Edmundston, N.B. An important step in the history of the company was taken in 1925 when Fraser Companies, Ltd. incorporated Fraser Paper, Ltd. as a wholly owned subsidiary. The new company constructed a mill in which to make paper from chemical pulps in Madawaska. The first paper machine started up on October 25, 1925 and the second on January 26, 1926.

To provide kraft pulps for the Madawaska paper mills and thus expand the types and grades of paper manufactured, the company opened an unbleached kraft mill in Newcastle, N.B. in 1949. This mill now produces 500 tons a day, with modern equipment for bleaching the product.

Today, as throughout its history, the prosperity of Fraser Companies rests upon the woodlands which it manages and from whence it derives the principal raw materials for its mills.

The sawmill at Plaster Rock, N.B. has a planned output for 1968 of 20,000,000 f.b.m. of Eastern Canadian Spruce lumber. Its products are sold principally in Canada and the United States, while its waste is converted into chips used in Edmunston for the manufacture of sulphite pulp.

The small sawmill that Donald Fraser purchased has grown, some 90 years later, into a multi-million dollar company. The physical growth of the company is the visible accomplishment of many able men, through whose efforts an enterprise was created which today provides a livelihood, directly and indirectly, for tens of thousands of people.

HEART FULL OF SONG

Les anciens recall the old French songs that came from Acadia, so dear to the heart, so comforting, which for the most part were drowned in the tears that followed the dispersal of 1755. For many years after that tragedy the Acadian did not sing nor cry. But as he came back to life, and the consolations of hope entered his heart once more, the songs were reborn. The old ones had been light and gay, the words meaning little, their beauty being the gaiety of Gaul set to music.

The heart needs to laugh and cry, to sing in its joy and sorrow. Since the main emotions of his life were certainly not of joy, he returned to *des complaintes* that he composed himself...spontaneous, most of them mournful. In typical Acadian style, he often turned them to satire and irony.

Some of the songs popular in old Acadia were:

A Saint-Malo, beau port de mer
A la claire fontaine
Par derrière chez mon père
Vol, mon coeur, vol
Malbrouke s'en va-t-en guerre
Vive la rose et le lilac
Il était une bergère

Sung by the Acadians on their march to shore for the embarkation:

Vive Jésus! Vive Jésus!
Avec la croix, sans cher portage
Vive Jésus!
Portons la croix
Sans choix, sans ennui, sans murmure,
Portons la croix!
Quoique très amère et très dure
Malgré le sens et la nature
Portons la croix!

At the offertory of the mass, or at communion, one of the most beautiful canticles from France was sung:

«Qu'ils sont aimés, grand Dieu, vos tabernacles...» or
«Tout n'est que vanité, mensonge et fragilité...»

During Lent, they sang:

«O, sang qu'un Dieu va répandre...»

Another, sung in church, especially at weddings, was:

Aimer Jésus, l'écouter en silence
Baiser ses pieds, reposer sur son coeur,
Mettre en lui seul toute ma complaisance.
Voilà ma vie, et voilà mon bonheur!
Divin Jésus, doux Sauveur que j'adore.
Pour vous aimer le temps me fait défaut;
J'attends le ciel pour aimer plus encore.
Ah! Que ne puis-je y voler aussitôt.

A popular lullaby was the following (they improvised as they went along):

C'est la poulette grise
Qu'a pondu dans l'église
Elle a pondu un petit coco
Pour l'enfant qui va faire dodo
Dodiche, dodo!
Dodiche, dodo!

C'est la poulette caille
Qu'a pondu dans la paille...

C'est la poulette blanche
Qu'a pondu dans la grange...

C'est la poulette brune
Qu'a pondu dans la lune...

After or during evenings of fun, they sang:

A la volette, Bonsoir Mon Ami Bonsoir,
Alouette, O Canada!, Evangéline.

Just for the sake of singing:

Marie Madeleine
Son p'tit jupon de laine
Sa p'tite jupe tricotée
Son p'tit jupon piqué.

C'était une jeune fille
Qui n'avait pas quinze ans
Elle s'est endormie
Au pied du rosier blanc.

Son voile par ci,
Son voile par là,
Son voile qui volant, volant
Son voile qui volait au vent.

* * *

Derrière chez nous il y a un étang
En roulant ma boule
Trois beaux canards s'en vont baignant
Rouli, roulant, ma boule roulant
En roulant ma boule roulant,
En roulant ma boule.

An old lumbermen's song:

Voici l'hiver arrivé
Les rivières sont gelées
C'est le temps d'aller au bois
Manger du lard et des poids!
Dans les chantiers nous hivernerons!
Dans les chantiers nous hivernerons!

THE WAX AND WANE

The seasonal moods of our northern woods, lakes and rivers vary greatly. Cold weather arrives and the waters rest quietly, then freeze. Afterward comes the exhilaration of spring and the activity of summer months. One thing that can be counted on to come and go with clocklike regularity is the waxing and waning of the moon. Every month a pale crescent turns to a full moon, then gradually diminishes again. There was nothing our ancestors could do about this mysterious process, which they took to be a literal breaking up and rebuilding of the moon; but they could use it to their advantage, and they did.

Planting during the waxing of the moon supposedly causes prolific growth; therefore, flax and hay, which should be long, and grain, peas, and potatoes, which should be prolific, are to be planted then. During the waning there is short growth. This time is particularly suited to tobacco and garden plants which should not go to stalk. An even number of days after the new moon is good for sowing, especially six or ten.

If a hog is slaughtered during the wane, or *décours*, it will not bleed well, the hair cannot be shaved off easily, and the meat will shrink much in cooking. During the waxing or *croissant* however, the meat is very tender and there is no shrinking in the pan.

The strength of animals waxes and wanes with the moon. For example, a horse should never have its hooves trimmed during a full moon because it is strong then and this would not be good for its health. Children, as well as animals, born under a full moon are stronger.

In a new year, the first day of the new moon predicts weather for January, the next day for February, and so on for the following months.

The three days before and after the full moon are marked by bad weather, as is the last quarter of the moon. The weather is cool during the full moon and waning, then warmer during the waxing.

A farmer could even order the desired sex of animals by controlling the time of their conception. If he wished to have fillies, and found that he had colts by breeding his mare during one phase of the moon, he simply shifted the time a half-moon to produce fillies.

Although people could not always explain why they did certain things to make crops grow, or to produce various results, their thinking was of a practical kind. If a certain ritual seemed once to make a thing happen, then the same thing repeated would make it happen again.

Heavenly bodies are no longer viewed with fear and respect. Man has even added some of his own, and plans to explore the others that God put in the universe. Popular opinion is that humans themselves have much more to do with their own destinies than the moon. However, it is interesting to find out what value these beliefs have for our own time because no matter how strange they may sound, there are millions of people today who still believe in them.

TALL TALES

Our ancestors were not forever sad and going around with long faces. On the contrary, they were fun-loving, possessed of a spontaneous gaiety and a sincerity that has been lost in the more sophisticated entertainment of today. Having nothing in the way of amusement, they made their own, resulting in the era of the story teller.

These people were not stupid. In fact, they were much more observant than we are. With absolutely no knowledge of the laws of nature and man, everything was a mystery - shooting stars, eclipses, lightning, birth, death, etc. Where there is ignorance, there is always fear of the unknown. Since life was so difficult, they assumed that there were more bad spirits than good. So they invented all sorts of charms and counter-magic to change bad luck to good. Today we view these stories with tolerance and amusement, but they are wonderful and whimsy, the stuff of which dreams are made.

The really good *conteur de contes*, chewing tobacco, sometimes whittling, was witty, inventive and a wonderful actor. He kept his stories, which always started with «Il y avait une fois» for the spooky hours, and told them with much detail, glancing sidelong into the dark corners beyond the light of the fire. He was secretly delighted when his audience responded with wide-eyed terror, imagining ghosts riding on the wind, devils shrieking in the chimney or murderers sneaking across the creaky floors. His stories were most fantastic, where mythology mingled with religion, adventures of strong men and heroes of long ago. He told of *les feux-follets* which were thought to be sorcerers who tried to lure poor people into dangerous places so they would perish, then would be heard laughing when the unhappy person had been trapped and plunged into a marsh. (*Feux-follets* were actually phosphorescent gases escaping from low wet lands and seeming to dance up and down in the dark.) The *conteur* also told of *des fées croque-mitaines, promenade en chasse-galleries, bonhomme Sept-heure,* and *lutins* that rode the horses at night and plaited their tails. The *loup-garou* was a were-wolf, a man who had the power of changing himself at will into a wolf.

If someone had been bad and rejected from society, a bird would be seen, about the size of a robin, with balls of fire under his wings, glowing on and off like fireflies. That represented the spirit of the person, who would never be seen or heard of again. Then there was the story of «Le Juif Errant» («The Wandering Jew») who walked all the time, going from one adventure to the next, an endless tale to rival A Thousand and One Nights.

More than one of the listeners, who could bravely face the fiercest adversary, wept openly at the reciting of the tale of the little Geneviève and her mishaps and the little lost shepherd girl; or, if it had been a ghost story, went to bed trembling with fear.

These stories were never resolved, plots left hanging in air, while fragments of other stories to come were expertly introduced, with a promise of even more exciting and terrifying adventures. Nowadays, they would be called previews of coming attractions.

Increased literacy has destroyed the role of the story teller. At first, he was replaced by reading aloud. Now individual reading has taken over and he lives only in our folklore.

BE IT EVER SO HUMBLE

The French are a prolific race, and their population doubled every 16 years. This was a time when the average human life was 33 years; one child out of four died before one year, and only half of the world's population reached 17. However, these people, because of their combined spirit of sacrifice and Christian generosity, the rigidity of the Church laws and economic need, married early and had larger families than elsewhere. Probably due to a natural rigorous selection at infant level, many lived to a very old age, especially the women.

Family life had more value and was much more intimate than it is today. Everyone worked toward a goal, even the children. In all houses, the loom and spinning wheel had a place of honor. The young woman who had not woven her piece on the loom was not worthy of being married, since the possession of this art was part of her dowry. On the other hand, the young man who had not cleared his 10 acres or made a pair of wheels was considered a mediocre pretendant.

A typical happy family included the old parents, whose faces resembled wrinkled parchment on which the story of a lifetime was written - a lifetime of enduring hardship not only with courage, but with a noble gaiety. They saw the younger couple taking over the paternal farm, and in turn raise its own children, so that growing old was an entirely natural and satisfying process, life ending as they had lived it - side by side and together.

Close to nature, family life necessarily revolved around the seasons, especially for the men. In the spring, after the maple sugar season, the land was made ready for planting. After the seeds were blessed by the priest, the farmer tied a large piece of cloth around his neck and shoulder, wound the other end around his arm in such a way as to form a bag in which the seeds were put. Then, making a sign of the cross, he cast these out in long, sweeping motions. The garden was made, and the housework continued much as usual, except that women and girls helped in the fields. There was soap to be made, butter to be churned, about two dozen loaves of bread baked twice a month, candles to be molded, rugs braided and blankets woven, flax to be made into clothes, etc.

After the crops were in, most of the men left for the chantiers or lumber camps. Pine was truly king in the middle eighties, and records show that huge trees sold for fantastic prices. All winter, these stout-hearted men swung and swore, cut and hauled, while drivers prodded slow-moving oxen teams. In the spring, logs by the millions were sent to mills and ports by means of waterways, free of toll, duties and maintenance. After the drive the men returned home triumphant, with long beards and giant thirsts, and there was so much wild rejoicing that many a mother wisely kept her daughters behind locked doors.

Thus each year a few more acres of northern wilderness were turned to crops. A few more Acadians closed their tired eyes for the last time on sunsplashed fields, driving rains and stupendous snowfalls, while the cry of the newborn rose from the corner of the cabin where the cradle was never put away.

SUPERSTITIONS

In the days when illiterate peasants lived so close to nature, people constantly looked for omens and significance in signs, especially those that were rare or unfamiliar. Even the regular phases of the moon and the slow turning of seasons were not without their own indications of the future. However, an eclipse, a comet or a great storm was of special significance, and excited wonder and dread for the destiny of mankind. Elders spoke of the dark day when birds ceased to sing and chickens flew up to their roosts as if it were night; cows lowed at the pasture fence, and there was such terror that men prayed and women wept. Marching armies of eerie northern lights across the sky caused everyone to tremble with the fear of their unknown portents.

Besides the weather predictions, many of which were based on scientific fact, there were the pure superstitions which were characteristic of our race. Most had to do with religion or death and the number three comes up often, perhaps in relation with the Holy Trinity. Many are based on the cross, symbolic sign of perfect unity. The following are some of the most prevalent, and many are still believed today.

The seventh son of a seventh son had special powers, especially of curing; the priest would give him a benediction to enlighten him on their use. When it rained during high Mass on Sunday, it meant *petite semaine*. When fish bled a lot on the hook in spring, it meant a big fishing year; when they bled a little, a small fishing year. When a deceased in the parish was exposed on a Sunday, there would be others for three consecutive Sundays. A child made to take his first steps while the church bells were ringing for high Mass on Sunday would walk during the week. Swallows did not carry debris or otherwise work on their nests on Sunday. When someone died in a house, the pail of water was thrown away, because it had become contaminated by the spirit passing through it. A baby would not say «yes» before the fontanel or soft spot on his head, had closed. A mother could deform or mark her unborn child by looking upon a disfigured person, an animal, or being frightened by some sudden incident. Moving on a Friday was bad luck; so was opening an umbrella, or turning it in the house. For the same reason, no one turned a knife round and round, as on a table. Bad luck was on the way if one dropped a knife and its blade stuck in the floor. If the ticking of a clock was heard when there was none around, people would pray for their relatives because one was dying. No white horse was allowed in a funeral procession. A coffin was carried in or out of the house or church feet first. Great care was taken so a cortege would not stop on the way to church because where it stopped, someone from that home would die within a year. The number of vehicles in the cortege were not to be counted, for the same reason.

The Acadian chased away *les lutins* by tracing on his barn a big white cross with lime.

THAT GRAND INSTITUTION

In the days of marriage by contract and with dowry, divorce was practically unheard of. Statistics show that in the 19th century there was nothing that human beings could undertake that represented such a small percentage of failure as marriage. Chaperonage was strict and a close vigilance was kept on daughters, so that there were no prolonged courting periods. No one would have dreamed of marrying against the parents' wishes, and this union was expected to last until death set one spouse free. It was nothing unusual to make *la grande demande* or ask the father for his daughter's hand after one month of visiting. The young man explained his financial position and received a tentative reply. Then the two families met and agreed on the terms of the contract. Wisely enough, it was inconceivable to link two families that were incompatible, or had no common historical or cultural ties. The contract was then drawn up by a notary, involving the grant of a father to son and mention of the girl's dowry, *(la dot)* which might consist of a feather bed, household articles and linens, livestock and sometimes a piece of land. Love grew between the two and families of 15 or more were indeed common.

The wedding feast was held at the groom's home, the act of going there being the bride's first manifestation of subjection to her husband. All day there was laughter, kissing, jokes and stories, and much teasing of the young couple who sat holding hands, a sign of their new union. One song, relating directly to marriage, consoled the mother for the loss of her son; another described the feelings of the bride leaving home, while others praised the beauty of the sacrament and wished the couple a long sequence of babies and a happy life together. The younger people sat apart, awe and envy mingled in their looks, hoping this miracle would not be denied them one day, while the older ones smiled with approval as if they would like to be twenty all over again. Older unmarried brothers or sisters of the newlyweds were made to dance in a hog trough, much to the delight of everyone. An old man got up, and to the accompaniment of his violin, his sure voice intoned the first line of Évangéline...«Je l'avais cru, ce rêve du jeune âge...» and everyone joined him. Then followed a medley of folk songs, with dry throats needing to be dampened with wine again and again.

After the festivities of the wedding, the couple settled down quickly to their new life, certainly at his parents' home if he was the inheriting son. Little by little, the young wife took over her mother-in-law's household duties, while the son continued to work with his father. Little changed, really, because the life of one family was much like that of another. If after a year they had no children, the neighbors openly questioned the reason for this, offering all kinds of suggestions to remedy the situation. Very rarely, however, was there need of this, because usually babies came with the regularity of the seasons. For deliveries, a mid-wife, or *pelle à feu*, was summoned, and often she returned to minister to both mother and baby with the traditional remedies at her disposal.

There were relatively few names in use, neighboring families often having up to five children with the same names. As a result, they were identified through their fathers, as: José à Baptiste, or Anselme, père and le p'tit Anselme.

THE ASHBURTON TREATY

Maine was separated from Massachusetts in 1820, but it was not until August 9, 1842, that the Ashburton Treaty settled the boundary line between its northern borders and Canada. The St. John and St. Francis rivers were designated as natural boundaries as far as Grand Falls, while remaining neutral and open to both sides; colonists who had occupied lands for six years or more received title to them.

The treaty, signed between special delegates from London, Lord Ashburton, and Daniel Webster, Secretary of State and American diplomat, brought an end to the war that was not a war, and that consequently has been called the Bloodless Aroostook War. In England, even though concessions had been made on both sides, it was called the Ashburton Capitulation. Under its provisions England ceded a territory of 7,000 square miles, separating in two the little groups of French people on both sides of the river, of which 2,000 passed under the American jurisdiction. The actual towns of St. Francis, Fort Kent, Frenchville, St. Luce, Madawaska, Grand Isle, Van Buren, Hamlin, (all on the river) St. Agatha, Caribou, and Presque Isle, (in the interior) make up the major part of this territory. Ancient complaints of the Acadian militia who became, in spite of their wishes, American subjects were Theriault, Hébert, Thibaudeau, Duperré, and Lizotte. They sleep in Canadian soil in St. Basile with several of the co-parishioners of 1850.

In spite of the fervent declarations of the elders that treaties could divide the lands but never the hearts, their sons grew accustomed to the new regime from Washington and became distinct American citizens. Although emigration has drained the youth of both sides toward industrial centers, the traditions and language of France continue to survive - «C'est encore le Madawaska des Madawaskayens!»

It is unofficially reported that because of poor communications, many people along the valley were not aware of their change of nationality until the War between the States two decades later.

LE VIEUX FOUR

The sweet aroma of homemade bread – *le pain de ménage* – those tawny hardcrusted loaves! A smell to make us children again!

The *four* was a dome-shaped earthen oven that stood outdoors near the house. It had an old blackened face and a clay vaulting covered by a steep little roof of boards, but that clay had to be purified by a very hot fire for two whole days before it was worthy to receive the dough.

Bread baking was a full day's work, which was done two or three times a month, resulting in nearly two dozen five-pound loaves at a time. The dough was made and kneaded in large troughs, called *huches.* While it was in its final stages, a hot fire of poplar or hemlock was lit in the oven; then it was closed so that only the smoke escaped through a special vent. When the fire had burned out, the ashes were removed and the bread put in.

There used to be a lovely tradition of tracing a cross on the loaves before baking. Later, the father did this on the baked bread before cutting it for his family. Unfortunately, it was abandoned altogether.

When the loaves were baked, they were pulled out with a big wooden shovel, removed from the pans and spread on a board, bottoms up, to be admired. This bread kept fresh and sweet much longer than the commercial bread of today. It was simple everyday fare, which has become a delicacy on our tables. Who can remember the crisp crust yielding to the knife with a shower of flakes, great slices leaning forward, waiting for the home-churned butter from the big brown crock?

WEATHER PREDICTIONS

The weather was an intimate reality to farmers who extracted a hard living from the soil and were at the mercy of the elements. Of their many ways of predicting the weather, many are marginal between religion and magic, while others are definitely based on sound scientific reasoning. These forecasters also had unmistakable signs by which they foretold the weather for the complete season ahead. If we had no barometer, radio, or television, could we do as well?

When the camphor bottle was cloudy, a storm was brewing.

When the Sunday gospel closed at the right, bad weather was in store for the week; at the left, fair weather.

The spleen of the slaughtered hog foretold the kind of winter. It could be large, then tapering off; start small, then turn large; large all the way or small all the way. The large part meant rough weather; the small, fair.

The turning of the leaves on trees meant wind and rain.

Le trois fait le mois; the third of the month indicated the type of weather for the whole month.

A hard winter was coming when squirrels put away a big store of nuts, when onion and apple skins were thick, and husks of corn thicker than usual.

A halo around the moon meant bad weather; the number of stars in it indicated the number of days before the coming of the storm.

The land was to be ready for planting forty days after the first crow was seen eating in the road.

Loons crying at night called for rain.

Heavy fall coats of fur on animals meant deep snows; the same applied to hornets' nests built high in branches; low nests, light fur, little snow.

The clearing of bad weather during the night meant more bad weather within two days.

An owl hooting in the winter time, foxes barking on a ridge or a frozen brook swelling over with water (*ruisseau gonflé*) meant a spell of warm weather in winter.

Frost was out of the ground when the first frogs made themselves heard.

Corn was to be planted when oak leaves were the size of a squirrel's ear.

Rain before seven meant sunshine before eleven.

If a cat's fur was stroked the wrong way and gave off sparks, cold weather was in store.

Signs of rain: frisky animals, the cry of tree toads, a mackerel sky, «mare's tails» streaked across the sky.

The time just before rainy weather was ideal for fishing.

Les Journaux de Noël: December 25th indicated the weather for January, the 26th for February, etc. On those days when snow was predicted and it was warm, rain fell instead.

If the sun set *le derrière dans l'eau*, bad weather was expected for the morrow.

«On Candlemas Day (February 2), half the wood and half the hay». The wise farmer checked this, because if he had used more than half his woodpile or half the hay in the mow, he would surely run out before spring.

A poor run of maple sap indicated small crops.

Northern lights meant a change of weather inside three days.

Soleil levant avec oeil de bouc, mauvais temps avant longtemps.

Soleil couchant avec oeil de bouc, beau temps avant longtemps. (*Oeil de bouc* means when both ends of a rainbow are visible but the middle is obscured by clouds).

When sparks fly upon sharpening the scythe it will rain before long.

(Several important signs have been omitted because they are covered in the weather prediction poem in the poetry section.)

THE FROLIC

The Acadians enjoyed a great togetherness, a love of working together and helping each other in true Christian spirit. When a young man was about to marry, if he was not yet lodged, his father only had to make his intentions known and there was a frolic. Those who helped were by the very fact invited to the wedding. The same aid was given with the same enthusiasm when a house or barn burned, or needed to be built. Often the parish priest gave them permission to work on Sunday, so they turned out in even greater numbers.

The young men were given a chance to show their agility and prowess, and the girls could shine as hostesses. Although the younger men did most of the work, there were always old-timers on hand to give the occasion historical color and perspective with their reminiscences of past raisings... some of them going back to the days of log barns and houses.

The best man was the one who could build a corner, and when you examine one of those old buildings, you cannot help but marvel at the skillful dovetailing or notching of the old-time cornerer.

When the structural framework was completed, a young man climbed up to fasten a spruce tree top to the gable, after which it was shot down with guns amidst loud rejoicing. There are stories of men who could run along a log and jump across the opening left for a barn door, about 14 feet, with a bottle of whiskey in each hand. When the whole building was finished , it was later blessed by a priest.

The women had cooked all day, and the raising was followed by a feast. There had been several *p'tits coups* taken during the day, but more were in order with the men hoarse from yelling and cheering. The fiddler, who was always part of the scene, tuned up and no one felt too tired to dance.

This was a time when folks were not «afraid to get involved», a time of charity and good will that remains an integral part of the record of the pioneers of this country.

HALE AND HEARTY

The diversions of the Acadians, while much simpler than ours, were more honest and sincere. Amusements were in the form of visiting, mostly relatives. At times there were cornhuskings, taffy pulling, swings for lovers, card playing, story telling, hayrides, barn dances, weddings, and the celebration of holidays.

Evenings were spent in family reunions, and no one would have thought of looking for recreation among strangers. Nearly all were related or friends since childhood, and many of their games which would be inconvenient today were fully accepted. With a spontaneous gaiety they gave themselves up to wholesome fun as often as the opportunity arose.

For dancing they played all the well-known tunes, beloved of generations before. There were the jig, the square dance, cotillions, reels, and quadrilles. The fiddler, with his foot-tapping technique, and the player of *la bombarbe* were remarkably good. They had lots of rhythm and kept time well. The delightful melodies of the fiddler and the intriguing rhymes which he sang are said to have had an almost Chaucerian flavor. Even unaccompanied solos were common. Although some of the words still exist, most of those songs have died out as one by one the old time musicians passed away. Often at a wedding, for example, someone will start singing *Evangéline,* hoping that the people will join in, but too few know the words to keep it up.

In general, Christmas did not have the social importance given New Year's Day. The parishioners attended Midnight Mass, after which there were réveillons in the homes. The guests were served wine, candy, fat pork spread and bread, and *croquecignols* or *beignes.*

On New Year's Day, after the priest had blessed the congregation at Mass, «Bonne, Sainte et Heureuse Année, et le Paradis à la fin de vos Jours!» there was general handshaking and well wishing among friends, with kissing that was rare except at this time. In every home the father traced a cross on the forehead of each member of the family and gave them his blessing. Then there was the opening of presents, cards and feasting with friends and relatives.

At *le jour des rois* (on which day the figures of the Wise Men were added to the crêche) a special cake was baked, with a bean in one half and a pea in the other. The boy and girl receiving these were king and queen for the evening. The period that followed was the time for the *veillées*. Boys and girls sat in the kitchen playing *main chaude*, a game where each tried to slap the hand of the other as hard as possible. Then, after much talking and the traditional *p'tit coup*, card playing started. One of the most popular games was *quatre septs*, with the losers relinquishing their places to those who had not yet played. When someone got a *vilaine* a terrible din broke loose, with yelling and stamping of feet, one imitating fiddle playing, and the other beating on a washpan. Wine and maple sugar were passed around throughout the evening.

Around midnight, all sang together from their repertoire of well-known songs. Then, the men went to hitch up the horses and the party was over. These parties were followed by others until Shrove Tuesday, then one at Mid-Lent after which the strict denial of pleasures was resumed for the rest of the Lenten period.

«A La Revoyure!»

MAPLE SUGAR TIME

When one could hear the sound of water trickling underneath the honeycombed snow of March, when the days grew longer and the treetops turned pink, then it was sugaring-off time.

From tree to tree the men and boys went, boring a hole with an auger on the south side of the maples, driving in a wooden spout and hanging a bucket from it. Cold nights and sunny days combined with the accumulated snowfalls of winter to start the sap running, and the next morning the buckets were full. A big hogshead, braced on a sleigh, was ready for collecting the sap. The oxen plodded in their slow, age-old way, stopping from one tree to the next, while the sap was emptied from the buckets to the barrel.

This liquid was then heated over a roaring fire and it began to steam, then bubble giving off billows of sweet smelling vapor mixed with pine smoke. The top foam was carefully skimmed with a wooden ladle, and gradually the excess water evaporated until the whole swelled like spun silk.

First came the syrup; then the taffy, which was thicker but not yet sugar. They gathered pans full of clean snow, dribbled it in tawny streams from the ladle, and watched it sink down into pools of cold crispness. One thought he could eat so much! But soon the sweetest tooth was satisfied. Later they could cook eggs or thick ham slices in the syrup, pour it over pancakes or drop dough into it, boiling hot.

Then came the critical period. The right moment for turning to sugar had to be calculated before it boiled over or burned. At precisely the right time it was turned into waiting containers - goose-egg shells, bread pans, cake tins, or birch bark cones. The remainder in the big iron pot was scraped into fudgy smoothness, such as money could never buy. The sugar kept indefinitely, and home-made scrapers were in many homes. Scraped maple sugar covered with thick country cream made a delicious dessert, worthy of the most important guests.

No doubt the children who grow up today have many advantages but it is unfortunate that they will miss customs of our past that have been modernized or altogether abandoned in the name of progress.

A few maple sugar cabins have survived, mostly in Canada. The rest have fallen to ruins, with only rusty boiling pans and equipment attesting to their existence. However, in this as in all other industries, the bigger ones have lasted. Here we pay tribute to Pete Daigle's Maple Sugar Club in Sinclair, Maine. From a simple camp, Pete has developed a popular year round entertainment center. Even though modernized, the process of making maple products is still enjoyed by many every spring.

SECRETS IN A NUTSHELL

Can you keep a secret? You don't have to; but if you do, make sure the person you tell it to is of the opposite sex, or it will lose its power. Can you tell it often? Not too many times, because it may weaken with repetition. Of what use is it? These particular secrets are cures for warts, pain of burns, worms, rheumatism, eczema (called *le riffle)*, the stopping of blood, goiter, ticks or colic of horses.

Sickness and death, lightning and fire, often struck terror in the heart of man. Thus, he learned to use the traditional controls of nature at his disposal, techniques handed down from one generation to the other.

Sickness was natural, but more or less frightening, and had to be controlled if possible. There were in a parish about a dozen people who knew the secret cures for most afflictions. One individual would know only one or two, and these could be told only to persons of the opposite sex. Neither were they to be offered when the need arose. Instead, the person with the power would wait until asked to perform the secret although he sometimes did it privately when he judged it expedient. Later, he might ask when the pain or bleeding stopped, and - was often gratified to learn that it was shortly after he had perfomed his ritual. The practitioner could not ask for payment, and many would not have thought of accepting anything. However, in later years, offers were often willingly received. Some left a small dish on a bureau and turned their backs so the patient or relative could put something in it without embarrassment.

They claimed no power of their own other than simply the knowledge of the secret procedure. Others rarely tried to learn it although it was always good to pass it on before dying so that people would continue to derive its benefits. The renown of the successful ones was more important in the public mind than the knowledge itself, and patients often came from far to see those of good reputation.

Some cures were full of religious symbolism, like the one for the goiter, others were quite natural. One healer would rub a wart, whisper a few words, and say, «Forget about it, now, and it will disappear». A man left the house with a quart bottle, returned it filled with water from some mysterious source, told the patient to wash his eczema with that for nine consecutive days, then take a good laxative, and the eczema would leave him. For the stopping of blood, there were, and still are, several procedures, but no one person practiced more than one method. It was important that this be done in private, and that the bleeding not stop too quickly because the patient would faint.

A strict taboo was having such a person around at slaughtering time because upon seeing the blood, he would inadvertently think of the secret and stop the flow, leaving a gaping white wound; the pork meat was unfit, and there was no blood for the «boudin».

One cure for horse colic could be practiced publicly and required no cross-sex in the telling. Take five strips of cedar bark about three inches long from the side of the tree toward the rising sun. Put these on top of one another in the shape of a cross in a frying pan, pour water over until well covered, and boil all the water away. The colic disappears as the water evaporates.

YOU DO NOT FEEL WELL?

To purify the blood and for general wellbeing:

Drink absinthe steeped in hot water. (This remedy was widely used during the epidemic of Spanish influenza in 1918).

For asthma or to thin the blood:

Boil white fir and tamarack in water until water diminishes by one half. Take 3/4 cup, four times a day.

For hernia:

Apply suet from a black sheep. Take thick cobwebs, twist around a lead disk, saturate with olive oil and apply. Grind cowslip to a pulp between two stones and apply.

For earache:

Blow smoke from a pipe into the ear. Let the water from a handful of snow trickle into the ear. *Eau de frêne* (ash) - take a stick of green ash about a foot longer than regular firewood, put in a stove, leaving extended end out downward. The dripping liquid is your remedy.

For falls, bruises, bumps:

Mix gunpowder and molasses: Take a scant 1/2 teaspoon three times a day. (Gunpowder is made from niter or saltpeter, charcoal and sulphur).

To remove the rotting flesh from open wounds:

Apply green moss. (This was practiced by the Indians before the coming of the white man).

For a bee sting:

Apply mud, or tobacco juice.

To lower a fever:

Steep catnip and drink the infusion.

For sprains:

Apply hot green onions. Apply cuss *(de l'anguille).*

For toothache:

Rub with *du bois de tonnerre.* (This wood was taken from a tree that has been felled by lightning).

To induce vomiting in people and animals:

Peel the bark of pimbina (high bush cranberry) upward, steep in hot water, and drink.

For a purgative:

Peel bark of pimbina downward, steep and then drink.

For pleurisy:

Drink stove soot mixed with milk. Heat the sore portions with oatsacks of ashes.

For worms:

Make an infusion of aspen bark and give in small doses. Drink milk boiled with garlic skins. (It is a fact that sheep which pasture around aspen have no worms).

Boils and furuncles:

Once a day for nine consecutive days, take a tablespoon of a sulphur-molasses mixture. Make an infusion of wild rhubarb roots; take with a little gin.

For whooping coughs:

Take garlic and honey. Mix poplar buds, sandragon, pine gum and camphor; rub the chest with this preparation.

For a whitlow or felon *(tour d'ongle)*:

Mix yellow homemade soap chips with molasses, and wrap around the finger. Take the thin skin inside an eggshell, and wrap around the finger. Apply a paste of pepper, gunpowder, grease and turpentine.

For a foreign body in the eye:

Put a flaxseed in the eye. Take the upper eyelid with your fingers and make the sign of the cross with it.

For baby's diaper rash:

Scrape *de l'écorce de pruche* (hemlock bark) into a powder and apply.

For callouses, bunions, sore feet:

Steep hemlock bark in hot water until the water gets quite dark; soak feet in it.

A purgative to purify blood in women:

Mix one quart milk, *fleur de surreau blanc* and white wine. The milk curdles, and you have the patient drink before each meal some of the clear liquid. A popular measure for this, as well as many other remedies, was *un petit verre à patte*.

Soothing syrup for hoarseness:

Cherry bark, honey and black pepper.

GET WELL SOON!

Note: Although freckles are not a disease, they were not to be desired: a lovely white complexion, with no trace of suntan, was highly sought, and supposedly attained by washing with buttermilk. Freckles were said to be removable by washing them away with the dew of the first of May, or with water that collects in tree stumps.

WORDS OF YESTERDAY

There are some words that are characteristic of the Acadians, and that are hardly used by other races. For example, you will not find in the dictionary *une vailloche, faire boucherie, tasserie* and *batterie;* these are Norman words.

A *braie* was used in preparing flax. Some Canadians from the Province of Québec call the Madawaskans *breyons* because they reproach them with *breyer* or *écorcer* (breaking up) the French language. When a woman did not mind her own business, she was called *une grande braye*.

Listed below are some common words illustrating this distortion of speech. The miracle is not that we still speak French, but that we have conserved a recognizable, even agreeable language. As for our errors, let us remember that someone once said, «Si notre langue porte de nombreuses blessures, c'est peut-être parce qu'elle a traversé beaucoup de batailles et reçu de vilains coups».

An old Acadian word meaning difficulties, tribulations: *tribouil.*

Hemlock was called: *aricot.*

Froid is said: *frette; droit: drette; fait: faite; pot* is pronounced *potte.*

From the English oust, many say *outer;* from stooks, *des stouques.*

The older citizens say, *jornée* for *journée; tojours* for *toujours; tchete* for *quête; tchure* for *cure; tchuire* for *cuire; tchulotte* for *culotte.*

Up to the 18th century, they were right when they said *avri;* now it is *avril.*

In reference to drowning, someone said, «On ne se noie pas en Acadie, on se neye... il s'est neyé».

Old timers still say, *mirwe* for *miroir; tirwé* for *tiroir; mouchwé* for *mouchoir.*

The word *imposer* has been retained in Acadia with the meaning of *empêcher* . . . *ça n'impose pas que* . . .

The floor is called *la place* . . . *laver la place.*

Molasses is *d'la menasse.*

To do the housework is *faire le beurda,* or *berda. Berdi-berda* means that all is in disorder.

Morning is *la matinée;* afternoon is *à s'te orloevé.*

Tuberculous: *pomonique.*

To cure: *djérir.*

God: *Le Bon Djeu.*

Distinct nautical terms dating from living close to the sea remain.

Echelle is used for *escalier,* or staircase.

Le large used to mean the high seas; inland it means «that part of the farm at the extreme limits near the woods».

Haler is used for *tirer,* or to pull..

Amarer means to tie.

Embarquer and *débarquer* is to embark and to disembark respectively.

Mater is to rise vertically.

Chavirer is their term for turning or upsetting, or losing one's mind.

Larguer is to let go.

Virer de bord means to turn around.

Bord is used for a room; *aller au bord* always means to go to the waterside.

INDUSTRY DEVELOPS

The very first crop of the colonists, that of 1786, was good except the wheat, which was nearly all destroyed by a September frost. This wheat was ground between two large stones which were turned one against the other by means of a handle. Then the flour was separated by sieving it through a linen cloth. Buckwheat was ground the same way. For barley, a «pile» was used. This was a piece of wood with a depression in it, in the shape of an inverted hat. The grain was put in this, pounded with a stick, thus breaking all the shells. After cleaning, it was ready for soup. Later came the grist mill, with the miller keeping a certain amount of grain for his work. It was powered by water running over a large wheel, turning two stones, which ground the grain.

For half a century, the Acadians labored under the most primitive conditions. They remained isolated, retarded in industry and agriculture, far from markets and suffering from lack of communication. From the manes and tails of horses, they made rope; they tanned hides to make leather for footwear and harnesses. Clothes, sails, baskets and hats were also homemade. Their skill with the axe and chisel provided them with rakes, furniture and needed agricultural implements.

The three great innovations that materially transformed the interior of houses and conditions of life were the stoves, the flour mills and the hydraulic sawmills. Stoves were brought from Canada by boat on the St. John River. The first flour mills were constructed around 1800, installed on brooks after the fashion of those of Nova Scotia and Baie Française. The first in the region was owned by Paul Potier of St. Basile. It turned slowly, its overshot wheels withstood the force of spring floods and lolled with the drier season of midsummer, but it ground buckwheat into flour that was the currency of the land. Then there was another in St. David, the work of Louis Bellefleur. Firmin Thibodeau bought François Cormier's mill in Grand Isle and made so many successful transformations that he finally had white flour for sale. It was the reign of the grindstone.

In 1878 the first Canadian Pacific Railroad train arrived on two narrow rails through a covered tunnel, at the same spot where the station is today, thus connecting Edmundston with the rest of New Brunswick. On January 1, 1889, the Temiscouata, with a wood-fed engine and accommodating passengers and baggage, had a regular 113 mile run. Our own Bangor and Aroostook Railroad was opened here in 1910.

A box car served as a temporary station, with Mr. H.R. Bard as first agent. Mr. Eldon Tapley was agent from 1911 to 1931; Hector Cyr until 1935; Neil Robertson until 1936; Alfred Lausier until 1968; then he was replaced by Hercules Lévesque who is present agent.

From the first, in 1910, a station was built in St. David, followed by a wooden structure in Madawaska the following year. In 1926 the latter was replaced by a brick station which was razed to make way for the present building in 1959.

THE GENERAL STORE

In the days when men lived separate and solitary lives, it was the country store that was the center of the community. People gathered there not only because it provided them with things they needed, but for a certain social atmosphere, a warmth and neighborliness that has vanished from the American scene. Here one could look around at leisure often taking half an hour to choose a yard of ribbon. There were cubes of indigo for the dye pot, the open cracker and pickle barrels, hardware, dress goods, thread, powder and ammunition from Europe. From the West Indies came barrels of molasses, salt, sugar, chests of coffee and tea, spices, rum and dyes. The air was heavy with the smell of strange places, whale oil, kerosene, raw hides and humanity.

Bartering was the common way to trade, and the owner was often paid in butter, sheep, rag coverlets, cordwood, wool or corn, all in small lots and processed at home under primitive conditions. The farmer fabricated all he could within his own family and abstained from buying imported goods as much as possible. Iron was used with great parsimony, forged into tools and repair parts that could not be made of wood.

A buyer did not lay out his money with a careless hand in those days. Customers were relaxed, and the store owner practiced the art of patience and tactful waiting. Merchandise was examined, prices discussed, every item compared with the other and finally the serious business of whether to satisfy the heart's desire or necessity was resolved.

In the 1870's the mail order catalog was introduced. Since the companies would not barter for goose feathers or eggs, it was many years before they were a serious rival to the country store. A more vital competitor was the peddler with his overflowing cart set high so it could travel over deeply rutted roads, and who could sweet talk the women into buying anything in return for skins, feathers or wool, old rags, discarded horseshoes or other scrap iron. He brought to the housewife a touch of the outside world, a contact with civilization that did much to relieve the monotony of her days.

Loafers were hardly profitable to the proprietor, but he put up with them while they played checkers by the stove, heckled each other, or alternated between heated discussions and sudden gusts of loud laughter. He was often the postmaster, the only subscriber to a newspaper, and was looked up to for advice in both business and domestic affairs.

No one knows exactly what was the critical time for that era. It did not seem to change from one year to the next, and yet it is gone. With the coming of the automobile, the world grew smaller, the community too large for what the general store could supply. People loved to go for a ride to where there were orderly departments, better displays, quick service, and one price for all, even if it meant making the transition from the commodity to the currency dollar.

Still the country store is recalled with a certain wistfulness, humor and affection. How many folks would give much to slip into the shadows of the past for one evening, to this leisure point of assembly - to sit on the wooden bench, chew tobacco and whittle a bit, listen to the flow of talk or long periods of silence, at that time when life's pace was uncomplicated and slow!

WHERE THERE IS LIFE

Sickness, birth and death are no respecters of time and season. When there were no doctors and storms raged outside, the farmers sat tight and tended their stock, and let nature take its course. People knew enough to stay well or they relied on home remedies. Diseases like mumps, measles, whooping cough, rash or croup were either ignored and allowed to run themselves out; or they were treated with medications made from traditional family recipes and compounded in the home kitchen.

Rural people were afflicted with a long list of ailments - frostbite, colds, sore throats, kidney trouble, summer complaint, cuts, fits, gallstones, and *le corps barré.* Special and violent experiences in a rough environment (knifings, gunshot wounds, accidents with axes, scythes, and pitchforks) called for emergency treatment. Giant trees that did not fall where they were supposed to were called «widow makers». So the people gathered herbs, roots, and bark along forest glades and stream banks, and hung them in bunches from the rafters of the back shed to be used as needed. In their gardens they grew catnip *(herbe à chatte),* camomile, absinthe, and mint. Roots such as *racine de musque* (calamus root) *racine de chiendent* (couchgrass) and cowslips were preserved.

The general supposition was that cold causes most illnesses, and so heat and the things associated with it, such as soot, snuff, and hot compresses were often used. A great many of these have been dropped with the development of science and modern medicine, but sometimes a doctor is not surprised to be called only after some of these have been tried. Some were rational and some were not, and many had no curing properties; however, when the principle was sound, alleviation of pain or a cure resulted. Others have been found to actually have scientific value.

Much could be said for the early country doctor, whose services were usually called for by a distraught man on horseback. He would dress warmly, hitch up the sleigh and drive long distances, in all possible weather conditions, sometimes with his horse floundering in snowdrifts up to its belly. Often he would stay overnight at the patient's home, working in deplorable conditions, waiting for a new addition to the population, or merely to see what turn the illness would take. He was paid in farm produce such as meat, jams, buckwheat, maple sugar, etc..; sometimes, not at all. One doctor, who delivered a large portion of the people along the valley and back settlements has many such memories. He recalls returning home, either gratified for having been successful or with a heavy heart because Death had won. He would hang the reins over the dasher, tell the horse to go home, curl up on the seat warmly wrapped in a *robe de carriole,* and awake some time later at his own barn door.

* * *

«Our remedies oft in ourselves do lie which we ascribe to Heaven».

Shakespeare

INDIAN LORE

On the whole, the Indians were not the rugged, super healthy race that we often think they were. It is not by accident that they were the real discoverers of botanical materia medica; their whole lives were spent in the open, searching for food and fighting the weather and the elements of nature. Flimsy shelters, ground vapors and chilling winds left them susceptible to all kinds of pains, fevers and ailments. Recent discoveries show that they were also victims of bone deformities and decayed teeth.

They were hunters first, both of game and hostile tribes, so all work concerned with food was left to the women. They ate only one meal a day, in the morning, sitting or standing around the fire. The men and boys were served from a clay pot in the embers, then the women and girls ate. Leftovers were kept warm all day, and anyone who felt hungry, including visitors, could help themselves. Dishes were never washed, but were scraped with cornhusks and allowed to dry; they became so coated with grease that they turned a deep brown. The tepees belonged by tradition to the women, and they were allowed to draw on them but not scenes from real life.

The Indians taught the whites to hunt and to fish, using traps and nets with stone sinkers. During their many years in this territory they had learned much about plants by looking, tasting and smelling. They knew which red berries made delicious food and which ones caused agonizing stomach pains. They taught the white men what to use for dyeing, weaving, for healing wounds and treating sickness; about a variety of young stems, leaves and flowerheads that could be eaten as greens, and of roots, bulbs, seeds and acquainted them with maple sugar. Arrowhead bulbs taste much like potatoes after they are boiled or baked. Wild carrot roots are very bitter but not when first soaked in boiling water then baked in ashes. Seed pods were boiled while young and tender and served as a vegetable. Sometimes their milky sap was collected, dried, and chewed like gum. Certain barks and berries were used in infusions as a drug.

They showed the whites how to plant their corn over dead fish, in order to have a better yield.

Many Indian dishes have found their way into our kitchens, especially those made with potatoes or corn. Some of their words relating to foods include cacao, caribou, maïs (corn), patate, tapioca, tomate also quinine (a drug), and tabac (tobacco).

PARLEZ-VOUS FRANÇAIS?

All living languages change. In fact, the many languages spoken today have so altered that historians doubt their common origin. There are many reasons for this, the most marked being wars, which are followed by new regimes that often create long lasting hybrid idioms. Other causes, slower and less violent, are migrations, change in climate affecting vocal cord, international relations, commerce, more necessity of coining appropriate words for recently discovered objects or processes. Thus some words, like clothes, are mended, shortened or lengthened, while others become obsolete and are rejected.

It is true that, compared to Parisian French, the French we speak is monotonous. Our vocal cords are more relaxed and we do not roll our r's. There is less vibrating of syllables, which accounts for the fact that our speech is not so musical as theirs. Basically, though, it is the same in grammar, syntax and vocabulary.

In view of the fact that our ancestors were illiterate peasants, we expect their language to be less refined, to lack the elegance of professors and poets. However, a diamond in the rough is no less a diamond than the one cut with many facets, and no other dialect approaches closer the academic French than that of the Canadian or Acadian.

Many words and expressions have been conserved by the Acadians, with the same sense they originally had, but they are not in the dictionary any more. Some (such as nautical terms) have been lost through geographical isolation simply because there was no more use for them. In Madawaska we have a blending of half Acadian and half Canadian. This is due to a fusion in about equal numbers from Acadia through the St. John River and from Kamouraska through the forest. The early absence of schools fostered the conservation of traits of vocabulary and pronunciation of each group. The Acadian syntax has become entangled with that of the Canadian, and seems to be giving in to the latter's simpler internal structure and formation of words.

The fact remains that we are the keepers of the French language. The stubborn folks who begot us had a taste of prison in order to defend their right to the maternal tongue. Ours is not a patois. When educated people adapt the rich old base of the mother tongue to modern phrasing, deleting the unacceptable words, their language reveals an indescribable charm. The historians, chroniclers and poets are only adapters; they transcribe for the eyes what we create for the ear. The old terms of Acadia, so alive and picturesque, are giving way to the infiltration of alien ideas and customs, and are definitely becoming Anglicized, especially in cities and suburbs. Let us conserve them with extreme care, because «Chaque mot qui part est une âme qui meurt». (From an old Canadian poet who wished that no one word be lost).

* * *

PICTURESQUE WORDS AND MEANINGS

Along with the French language, the Indians adopted the white man's custom of calling each other names. Thus, they called the Iroquois, *Les Nez-Crochus*.

Rimouski means retreat of dogs.

Chippewa means a windy fellow.

Rivière-du-Loup means river of the Wolves.

Some say Canada is Iroquois for Kanata, meaning a cabin or lodge. Others say it is Algonquin for Odanah, meaning a settlement; while still others claim that the Spanish sailors, failing to find gold mines, cried «Acanada»!

The St. Francis River was called Amilcungantiquake, meaning «banks of the river abounding in dry meat». (This probably referred to game meat, but it could not have been venison because there were practically no deer here before the loggers came).

Allagash is Indian for «Hemlock Bark», or «North Flowing Waters». There is an old superstition that anyone who drank Allagash waters would die with his boots off.

The Iroquois referred to the Adirondacks as «bark eaters».

The St. Francis tribe was called Abenaki, or Wabinaki: meaning people of the dawn.

There are two theories on the St. John River's name: one says it was called Wooloostook in honor of a great chief; the other claims it was the Wallastook, meaning crooked river, or shallow river.

The Big Black was called Chinkazaook.

Eagle Lake was Pongokwahemook;

Madawaska was Med-a-wes-kek, for porcupine place;

Sunakade meant place where cranberry abounds;

Trackadie, *Passamaquoddy:* fertile lands or fields;

Seguboonakake or *Shubenacadie:* place where edible roots such as potatoes and artichokes flourish in abundance,

Cabahonoce meant ducks' sleeping place.

Other Indian words, adaptations of which we recognize in our everyday speech are the following:

boucan - a grill for smoking meat; we also use boucaner.

matache - Indian for tattoed; Acadians used it to denote varicolored animals.

micoine - wooden spoons such as that used in making butter.

pichou - (Algonquin) ugly, deformed

piconille - (Algonquin) very lean, emaciated

pimbina - our high bush cranberry that is used for making jelly

mackinaw - warm covers

babiche - narrow length of leather for crude sewing or thongs

dodiche - dodish, petticoats for small children

kayak - closed canoe of skin used by hunters and fishermen

touladis or *touradis* - (Algonquin) large gray trout

tobagan - light sled with front turned upwards

pioui - down on young birds

quiliou – used by the *coureurs de bois*, meant the great royal eagle

REMINISCING

Before iron was available, plows were made from the roots of hardwood trees. Oxen-drawn harrows were fashioned from three pieces of hardwood through which holes were bored for teeth made from branches. The scythe and the flail of the 19th century differed little from those of biblical days. The scythe could be swung swiftly, but it flung stalks in all directions. Then came the cradle scythe which had prongs along the blade, that caught the grain as it was cut and let it slide to the ground in a neat pile. Farmers used to thresh by beating the heads of the grain, or driving their animals back and forth over the spread-out grain until their feet had trampled the kernels loose. Winnowing was a slow hand process of tossing the grain into the air, in a strong breeze, until the chaff blew away. Before the gristmill, buckwheat was ground between two flat rocks, so that the grain broke and produced the flour.

LA FAUCILLE

Hanging from wooden pins or leaning against the wall, the old farm implements are covered with dust in the shed where no one ever goes... no one except him, old and bent, who goes to see his friends, companions of his ancient labors. He picks them up and softly speaks to them. Like him, they have been replaced by machines, faster, noisier, more efficient, better suited to the frantic impatience of our times. Here, away from curious eyes, hidden from insults and disrespect, they share their memories - the two handled winnowing basket, the flail, the pitchfork with the wooden prongs, the little curved scythe (*faucille*), the *braie* on top of the bakehouse, the plowshare with a dent in its side, pieces of harness - the relics he has put to rest.

And he remembers. How many crops he cut when his arms were solid and sure! He would straighten out at the end of the field, sweat glistening on his brow, and admire the blond heads of grain that lay like a golden carpet. And the flail, as old as he! Like his, its joints fail it now; rust has gnawed at its iron ring and the leather of its copes has dried and shriveled. But its wooden beater of wild cherry, its support of maple are sound. He handles the pitchfork with fondness. Once a branch in the forest, it was found on a summer night. He sharpened its teeth - it was all of one piece and so solid it never faltered under the heaviest hay. Yet, it was so light his wife could handle it as well as any man. And he hears his dead father's voice...«Now, my sons, we have sold this hay. Let us give a good measure, and more...» The inborn honesty, the generosity of his forefathers, where have they gone?

His mother's loom, all made of pine, is partly dismantled. Fine cobwebs weave back and forth between it and the working bench. Ironically, they remind him of the synthetic fibers that have made the fine art of weaving obsolete. Ah, yes! the young people of today would not understand us; better to let them sleep in their dark corner. He softly closes the door and comes back to the house, and a smile hovers on his good old face.

THE SUNDAY POETS

Dièreville lauded the ingenuity of the Acadians in this poem:

Sans avoir appris de métiers,
Ils sont en tout bons ouvriers:
Il n'est rien dont ils ne s'acquittent,
Cent besoins divers les excitent
A se donner ce qu'ils n'ont pas:
De leur laine, ils se font habits, bonnets et bas.
Ne se distinguant point par de nouvelles modes.
Ils portent toujours des capots,
Et se font des souliers, toujours plats et commodes.
De peaux de loup-marins et de peaux d'orignaux.
De leur lin ils se font encore de la toile;
Enfin leur nudité par leur travail se voile.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE ST. JOHN RIVER

The St. John River was called the Oangundy by the Indians of those days, and even at the present time the Malecites use the name Oangundy. It was at what is now called St. Anne, N.B. opposite Grand Isle on this side of the boundary line where the line of canoe laden Mohawks started with the Indian maiden Malabeam on their way down the river.

In the sweet days of summer five hundred years ago
Where the broad Oangundy swept on in might below the ceaseless torrent, which down the great falls bore
Over the steep, with sudden leap, full eighty feet or more.
There on the bank above, an Indian town arose.
Where dwelt the warlike Malicites, the Mohawks were their foes.
These red skinned sons of slaughter had joined in many a fray
With savage ire and carnage dire shaming the light of day.

But buried was the hatchet, they went to war no more
The little children gambolled about each wigwam floor
Around the savage village were maize fields waving green
Mid such sweet peace you scarce could guess that ever war had been.

Sakotis and his daughter, the dark eyed Malabeam
Sailed up the Oangundy beyond the Quisibis stream
And there upon the island they rested for the day
Their hearts were light, the world was bright, and Nature's face was gay.

But, like a clap of thunder when the heavens are calm and clear
The warhoop of the Mohawks fell on their startled ear
And a sharp flint tipped arrow pierced old Sakotis' breast
Ere Malabeam could run to him, her father was at rest.

And bounding through the thicket on rushed a savage crowd
Of Mohawks in their war paint, with warhoops fierce and loud
And ere the orphaned maiden had time to turn and fly
They bound her fast, all hope was passed, except the hope to die.

There by her slaughtered father the weary hours she passed
Till the sun went down, and the lofty trees a gloomy shadow cast

Thinking of home and kindred, of the friends she could not warn
The murderous night, and the gory sight, would greet the morrow morn.

But one who knew her language said, «As soon as the sun goes down
Your bark canoe shall guide us to your father's town
Do this, your life is spared you, then wed a Mohawk brave
Refuse, your doom is torture, or worse, to be a slave».

Then said she, «I will guide you and wed a Mohawk brave
Though you have slain my father, I need not be a slave
The stream is swift and broken, you well might go astray
Keep your canoes together, and I will lead the way».

Just as the gloom of darkness spread over hill and dale
Down the swift Oangundy the Mohawk fleet set sail
Three hundred Mohawk warriors chanting a martial song
Their paddles gleamed upon the stream as swift they sped along.

In four lines together, each to the next held fast
The maiden in the center, the great canoe fleet passed
And he who knew her language a line of silver drew
As he bent to the forward paddle in the maiden's birch canoe.

The song was done, and silence fell upon every tongue
Of warriors old, grizzled, and the braves untaught and young
Hate filled every swarthy bosom, nearing the thrice doomed town
Flow on, O mighty river, and bear the foemen down.

But little cared the Mohawks, the wind might wail or sigh
The moon might hide her glory, the clouds obscure the sky
With hearts intent on slaughter, with tongues on carnage fed
They toiled, and still before them the strong armed maiden sped.

And now the Indian village lies but a mile below
A sound like muffled thunder seems on their ears to grow
«What's that?» «'Tis but a torrent», the Indian maiden replied
«It joins the Oangundy, which here flows deep and wide».

«Speed on a little further, the town is now hard by
Your toils are nearly over, and night still veils the sky
The town is wrapped in slumber, but ere the dawn of light
What stalwart men shall perish, what warriors die tonight!»

But louder still, and louder, the sounds like thunder grew
As down the rapid river the swift flotilla flew
On either shore the foam wreaths shone like a line of snow
But all in front was darkness, 'twas death which lay below.

Then with a shout of triumph the Indian maiden cried
«Listen, ye Mohawk warriors, who sail on death's dark tide
Never shall earth grave hide you, or wife weep over your clay
Come to your doom, ye Mohawks,

and I will lead the way.»

Then sweeping with her paddle one
potent stroke, her last
Down the fall her bark is borne, the
dreadful brink is passed.
And down the whole three hundred,
with swift succession go
Into the dark abyss of death, full
eighty feet below.

And many a day thereafter, beyond
the torrent's roar
The swarthy Mohawk dead were
found upon the river's shore
But on brave Malabeam's dead face no
human eyes were set
She lies in the dark stream's embrace,
the river claims her yet.

The waters of five hundred years have
flowed above her grave
But daring deeds can never die while
human hearts are brave
Her tribe still tell her story and round
their council fires
Bless her who died in the raging tide
to rescue all their sires.

FROM FATHER TO SON

The family, which was often very large, constituted the basic wealth of the citizens. Because of their need for unity and family solidarity, marriages were arranged by the parents, who chose someone in a family with whom there was a common bond of kinship, friendship or trust. When courting started, it was done at home with close chaperoning of daughters and no prolonged visiting periods. It was not unusual for a father to be asked for his daughter's hand in marriage after one month courting. The young man explained his financial position and received a tentative reply. Then shortly after, the two sets of parents agreed on the terms for the marriage contract. The pretty young girls brought to their marriage the honesty of their souls, an indomitable courage, the ability to work with their hands, used to hard work in fields and home, and the disposition for a happy wife and good mother. Our French Acadian women had a reputation for keeping a clean house and the progress of the spring and fall *grand ménage* dominated their conversations for several weeks during the year. There were houses with ceiling beams that had been scrubbed so much that their edges were actually worn round! Dowries consisted of household linens and utensils, blankets, a featherbed, livestock, and more rarely, a piece of land. By right, the cradle went to the oldest daughter in a family. (It is interesting to note here that there were no divorces).

If the young husband was to be the inheriting son, the couple took up residence with his parents. Little by little the mother-in-law relinquished her duties as head of the household and eventually the older couple made preparations for their retirement. After Madawaska was incorporated into a town, they would go to the town clerk and legally turn over the *bien* to their son, taking in turn, a life support mortgage and making specific requests. This was written in English, which they could not read, but their plow-calloused hand affixed an X to the paper, and it became their most important document, to be put away carefully in the *coffre dans la grande chambre*. It insured maintenance for the rest of their lives, while reassuring them that their precious land holdings would remain in the family.

Town records list the meager belongings of these people and reveal how important it was to be assured of a funeral and subsequent Masses.

For example, one can read: «Provided heir will make available (to the father) suitable harness, horse, buffalo robes and carriages, in accordance with the seasons, for the purpose of doing his necessary religious duties as long as he can manage a horse; that he shall provide his mother with sufficient meat, tea and snuff, and medical care; that he shall be sure to bring in a confessor in sickness or old age; also, provide a sufficient piece of land and manure to plant two bushels of potatoes yearly; provide tobacco and pipes at his necessity; also, a sugar pot as long as he thinks it proper to make maple sugar; provide the old couple with suitable clothing and house-room in their home. At their deaths, that they will have a High Mass of Requiem, then six low Masses in accordance with the rules of the Church of Rome, for the repose of their departed souls. Also, he is to give a two year old heifer to his sister.»

We note here that a sort of matriarchy seemed to exist. The wife and mother was queen of the humble home. Her husband nearly always asked her permission to go somewhere, never started any project without discussing it with her, nor would he give an answer without consulting her first. Families were numerous, often having eighteen to twenty-one children.

Growing old was an entirely natural and satisfying process. In no time at all, it seemed, the wheel had turned full circle and it was time to make provisions for old age and death.

Hospitals being unknown, people died at home, in their own beds. They were washed, dressed in their Sunday best, and laid out *sur les planches*, which were boards, covered with a sheet. The coffin maker was notified. Vital Bellefleur, a carpenter here, was one such. Another was Michel Morin. Usually made of pine, the coffin was fashioned after the general build of the deceased; that is, if he were a tall man, a woman or a child. Some were made fancier, with a widening at the shoulders and tapering at the foot. A three-day wake was held; during which friends and relatives came to say prayers, and a table was laid out with food twenty-four hours a day.

Then came the morning of the funeral, the time for *aller porter en terre*. Lacking other facilities, burial was done in winter as well as in summer, and many recall the funeral procession coming upon the grave half filled with swirling snow during the harsh Maine winters. Often memorial cards were made, with a lock of hair tucked inside as a souvenir. During the period of mourning, which lasted a year, the relatives did not play cards, attend public meetings, weddings or any other festivities, and they strictly observed the custom of wearing black.

The front of St. David cemetery has a few wooden tombstones left, the inscription carved with a knife. Then there are some iron crosses with ornate scrollwork made by the blacksmith. *«Ci Gît»* for «Here Lies», dates from Old Acadia.

ON EST CATHOLIQUE

As family life revolved around the seasons, so was it always in close union with the religious year. The Catholic faith was not just a Sunday affair to our fathers. It was their strength, their perpetual help, their very way of life. On a wall of every home the long black crucifix had a place of honor. At its foot the family knelt together to say morning and evening prayers. Other wall decorations were religious pictures and the framed coffin handles of departed ones.

Sunday was devoted to attending Mass and afternoon Vespers, and St. David parishioners spent all day ill at ease in their best suits of *drap de pays* and *robes de droguette* – pronounced *drayette*. Their devotion to Notre Dame de L'Assomption dates to the very first parish at Port Royal.

The old citizens who lie in the cemetery would probably think that we have lost all sense of piety today. They would find that Latin has given way to the vernacular, and many of their lovely customs have simply vanished.

I heard an old man recall that in the 1800's they had the *pain béni.* One of the more prosperous farmers would bring to church a loaf of bread on Sunday. The priest blessed it, then it was passed around. Everyone in turn, would take a pinch of it, cross himself and eat. This, however, did not replace Communion, which was not received as often as it is today.

The period of Lent meant forty days when meat was not eaten, and fasting and rigid discipline were strictly observed. There was no dancing, parties or drinking, and Holy Week seemed far away indeed. During Mass on Holy Thursday, when the church bells tolled, it was said that «they had gone to Rome», to return on Holy Saturday. Then came Easter, the greatest feast of the church, and everyone turned out in their spring finery. As on all Sundays, custom dictated that the men file out of the church first, then the women and children.

Long ago, two outstanding feasts were St. Marc's Day, and *«La Fête Dieu.»* On the former, the priest blessed a large bowl of assorted seeds. A man from each family brought home a handful, and everyone helped to separate them into various kinds, which were the first to be planted. Children sowed these while saying «Paters». Later the farmer would wear a long apron, gather the two corners to form a pocket for the seeds and sow them after having made the sign of the cross.

On the *Fête Dieu* the procession of the Blessed Sacrament had a special charm. It was called the Holy Parade, and everyone attended. It is said that the Indians dressed brilliantly, armed with spears and muskets, as for a military parade. The elevation was saluted by a volley of artillery and they sang, *O Salutaris, Hostia.*

When the bishop came to confirm, the people would *balise* the road where he was to pass. That is, they cut many small trees of maple, beech, etc., bore holes in the ground at intervals, and tamped the trees in, thus making a lovely green passageway. All along, people knelt and made the sign of the cross as the bishop and clergy went by.

On November 1, All Saints Day, the town crier held an auction in front of the church for Masses for the souls of the dead. An incongruous assortment of produce was brought in - pumpkins, poultry, headcheese, rag rugs, bolts of cloth, pigs, geese, etc. Articles were sometimes bought, then given back, for a Mass to be said «for the most abandoned soul in Purgatory».

After the time of Advent came the revelry of *les fêtes,* with the lumbermen home after a long absence, often to find a new baby in the cradle. Christmas was not given the general importance that it is today; certainly it had none of the commercial aspect. All the parish was present and beaming at Midnight Mass, and all went to Communion, males before females. Afterwards, there were home *réveillons* with wine, candy, fat pork, *croquecignols,* and *tourtières.*

At New Years, the priest blessed the congregation, «Bonne, sainte et heureuse année, et le paradis à la fin de vos jours.» There was well wishing and hand shaking as people greeted one another on the church steps and in every home the father blessed in turn, each member of his household.

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THE FRENCH IN VERMONT

1609 to 1976

by

Peter Woolfson
Burlington, VT

The North American Experience

The French presence in North America can be officially dated from July 24, 1534 at Gaspé Harbor (in what is now the eastern part of the Province of Québec) where Jacques Cartier and his men erected a thirty foot cross upon whose crossbars rested a shield decorated with «fleurs-de-lis» and the inscription, «Vive le Roy de France.»

Explorers, missionaries and *coureurs de bois* (fur traders) pushed that initial effort from the shores of the St. Lawrence through much of what is today Canada and the United States. No less than twenty three of the United States were colonized by French pioneers or French Canadians (Maurault, 1950, 9). A remarkable number of cities were founded by these explorers and colonizers: Biloxi (Mississippi), Chicago (Illinois), Detroit (Michigan), Dubuque (Iowa), Duluth (Minnesota), Mobile (Alabama), New Orleans (Louisiana), Niagara Falls (New York), Peoria (Illinois), Pittsburg (Pennsylvania), and St. Joseph (Missouri) to name some.

The French experience goes deep into the sinews of American history. The Battle of Bunker Hill is really the Battle of «Boncoeur» Hill; there are other French names of national significance: Paul Revere and Faneuil Hall; the cradle of American Liberty.

The French Experience in Vermont

Any account of the French experience in Vermont must begin with the explorations of Samuel de Champlain in 1609. Miriam Chapin writes, «The first French contact with Vermont occurred when Samuel de Champlain came up the Richelieu River to the Lake that bears his name.» (1958, 22). Champlain, who had founded New France, may have also, in retrospect, sealed its doom. For when Champlain, in support of his Algonkin guides, sprayed and killed three Iroquois chiefs with his arquebus, he sealed in blood the undying enmity of the powerful Iroquois confederacy who then became invaluable allies of the English.

The Early Forts

Champlain, however, never revisited the Lake that bears his name. Settlements did not begin until some fifty-seven years later when Sieur de la Motte, retracing Champlain's route, built Fort Ste Anne on what is now Isle La Motte. In the winter of 1666, Father Dollier de Casson, a Sulpician from Montreal, came to visit sick soldiers at the Fort. The chapel that was built for him during his three months' stay is purported to be the first religious edifice in New England. (Wilson, 1953, 21). Since the fort was established in what was considered a no-man's land between the warring Indians, the establishment of villages was considered too dangerous. Nevertheless, it was common for the soldiers to have small gardens - officers could keep cows. Some of the soldiers even built summer homes on their garden plots! (Pages from the Past, 1961, 159). When the soldiers retired, around the ages of forty or fifty, they were allowed to settle upon and cultivate a piece of ground. Each discharged soldier was given a piece of land forty arpents long and three arpents wide (an arpent is 192 feet). He was also given cows, tools, and assistance in building a house. Thus, the colonization of Vermont began. But this initial colonization was to be short-lived. Coolidge claims that when the French were driven out by the English in 1759, the French left no trace of their hundred and fifty years of occupation «other than the mute and deserted ruins of their homes and military posts, surrounded by the cultivated fields which represent civilization.» (Coolidge, 1938, 307). Adams, of the Vermont Archaeological Society, argues that some of the French farms were remote enough to escape notice by the English. In reality, he suggests the French presence in Vermont was never totally discontinued; but the past remains dim.

The American Revolution

It is not until the American Revolution that immigration into Vermont appears again. The Continental Congress in 1774 invited Canada to be part of its confederation of American provinces. However, Mgr. Briand, Bishop of Québec, and other notables declined the offer. They were dedicated to consolidating the position of the French Catholic Church in a predominantly English Protestant milieu. Nevertheless, the majority of French Canadians sympathized with the Americans; so much so, that the English governor hesitated to raise a force of French Canadian troops, lest he provide training and arms for those who could become potential enemies. In spite of the fact that Bishop Briand forbade the administration of the sacraments to any Canadian rebel, Colonel Moses Hazen was able to recruit two companies of French Canadians to fight on the side of the Americans. In addition, James Livingston, under the orders of Benedict Arnold, recruited another troop of 100 to 150 men. When the war was over in 1783, the French Canadians who had fought on the side of the Americans were offered extensive tracts of land on both the New York and Vermont sides of Lake Champlain. (Maurault, 1951, 11). The impact of this French Canadian immigration, however, was not extensive: the census of 1790 which counted only heads of families lists only twenty-nine French families in Vermont - an estimated one hundred and fifty-three persons in a population of eighty thousand. (Huntley, 1940, 27).

The Papineau Rebellions

Immigration into Vermont picked up some as a result of the rebellions of 1837-8. The struggle was in essence, one between the English-speaking minority and the French-speaking majority. The English-speaking oligarchy controlled the government, whereas the French controlled the elected assembly. The French were more numerous but felt powerless in their own affairs. Joseph Louis Papineau, Speaker for the Assembly, looked to the American model for a more equitable governmental structure. The British government, fearing again the loss of control, declared that the colonies could have neither self-government nor elected legislative councils. Papineau talked of revolution. His followers, «Les Patriotes», founded «Fils de la Liberté» Associations in imitation of the earlier American Revolutionaries. English-speaking Lower Canadians, in retaliation, organized their military groups. Riots soon ensued. Papineau and his lieutenants, in order to avoid trouble, left Montreal. Their actions were misinterpreted - and Papineau's arrest was ordered. He then fled to the United States; several of his lieutenants came to

Vermont: Louis Perralt to Middlebury, Thomas Storrow Brown to St. Albans, Etienne Rodier to Burlington, followed by Ludgar Duvernay who had first stopped briefly at Rouses Point. (Rumilly, 1958, 19).

Duvernay was a newspaper editor – he had been arrested in 1832 for publishing an article denigrating the legislative council in his newspaper, «La Minerve». He chose Burlington, Vermont to practice again his journalistic skills in the defense of French Canadian independence and liberty. He chose Burlington because it was large – 7,000 people, had a university -- whose cornerstone was laid by Lafayette in 1825 – and was near Winooski where several refugee Canadians were employed in the woolen mills. Thus was established the first French Canadian newspaper in the United States, «Le Patriote.» However, the experience was short-lived – six months. Most of the followers of Papineau were granted amnesty and returned to Lower Canada to take up their lives where they had left them.

The Great Migration

The greatest immigration of Canadian French to New England occurred between 1840 and 1930. The first migrants were seasonal workers who came to New England for the harvest season. But as land of good quality became scarce and family farms deteriorated, many French Canadians came to Vermont in search of better farming conditions. Industrialization of Vermont picked up after the Civil War. Bassett estimates that between 60,000 and 75,000 French Canadians came to New England between 1866 and 1873. In the month of April, 1873, alone, the trains coming from Canada carried 2300 French Canadians through St. Albans. On the third of May, 1869, a single train carried six hundred French Canadians locked inside its cars to avoid confusion and to make desertion impossible. In spite of the mill recruiters' propaganda, the workers did not find the American streets paved with gold. In 1880, for example, a millworker received the princely sum of seventy-two cents for an eleven and a half hour day! It was necessary for an entire family to work in the mills in order for a living wage to be made. Moreover, because of the health hazards of breathing cotton fibers, the average working life of a mill hand was ten years or less!

The depression of 1930 saw the end to large cotton and woolen mills in Vermont -- the mills in Winooski limped along, however, until 1957. From that time on, more and more French Canadians came to Vermont to work in dairy and lumber industries. The State has remained primarily rural – nearly twenty-seven percent of Vermont's rural population are French-speaking -- 19% of the farm population is French-speaking as well.

According to the 1970 census, there are 42,193 people who claim that their mother tongue is French -- nearly 10% of the population. The number of people who are descendants of French Canadian immigrants in the state are, of course, much larger; the census did not take account of French surnames or origins.

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THE RAPID ASSIMILATION OF CANADIAN FRENCH IN NORTHERN VERMONT

by

Peter Woolfson

The French Language

France, in signing the Treaty of Paris in 1763, officially washed its hands of New France. To all intents and purposes, social and intellectual interactions with the Mother Country ceased. To some, this isolation has meant the creation of a linguistic relic: «Plusieurs Québécois se font grande gloire de parler la langue de Molière en Amérique. Quelle miracle! disent-ils.» (Landry, 1972, 71). To speak of Canadian French as frozen in the seventeenth century, is of course a gross oversimplification. First of all, the isolation from France was never a total one -- the Canadian Clergy was often reinforced by European French-speaking priests and nuns. Besides, the Canadian Clergy felt its responsibilities to maintain standards of «le bon parler français» in their sermons, writings, and teachings: this meant standard European French. Moreover, as every linguist knows, the only frozen languages are the dead ones: living languages change, grow, add, borrow, and deplete. Molière would hardly be able to recognize the dialect of Québec as his own!

In 1960, «Frère Untel», Jean-Paul Desbiens, introduced the term «joual» to refer to the distinct working class or folk language of Québec. Mark Orkin in his very funny book, *French Canajan, Me*? defines «joual» as follows:

> The people's language of Kay Beck. The *joual* is said to derive from the popular pronunciation of *cheval,* i.e., horse, although it is not clear what a horse has to do with the folk speech of French Canada. (1975, 77).

In reality, «joual» has more relevance as a political symbol than it does as a descriptive term. *La révolution tranquille* of the 1960's preached the doctrine of *Maître chez nous,* «Masters in our own house». *Joual* became a symbol of Québec's unique linguistic identity and thus a potent indicator of a new Québec brand of nationalism. «Joual» has become a symbol of the Québec separatists. Militant Québécois university students at Laval refuse to speak anything else. But since it is a political symbol, it is not an accurate term to use as a description of the dialect of French spoken by the farmers and workers of New England.

There are several differences between the French Canadian dialect of New England farmers and workers and standard French. On the phonological level, there is a diphthongization of vowels - /per/ to /peyr/ «father»: some short tense vowels have become lax /rit/ to /rīt/: short /a/ in final position has become /ɔ/«open o» as in /kăn′ə-də/«Canada»: /t/ and /d/ are often affricated to /ts/ or /dz/ before a high front vowel as in /ptsit/«petite». Orkin points out another noticeable characteristic of Canadian French pronunciation:

> Reduction forms the essence of *joual*. Consider by way of example the first person pronoun. Everyone is familiar with the difference between the noisy bragging English «I» and the quiet French «je» whose lower case initial

> letter offers a glimpse into a whole world of self-assurance. *Joual*, on the other hand, subjugates the ego by reducing it to a whispered «j» as in «j's'rai» (in Canajan: «Allbee»). «J'vas aller chercher» (in Canajan: Allgo C»).
> (Orkin, 1975, 25-6).

There are also considerable changes in grammar and syntax. One of the most noticeable is the appearance of English structures and words which are used so extensively in the language that it is sometimes called «franglais.» Thus we get expressions such as «J'ai resté mon chapeau à la maison» for «J'ai laissé mon chapeau chez moi» and «Il a eu une nervous breakdown» for «Il a eu une dépression nerveuse » (Dubé, 1971, 207). The Québec government has become so concerned about the amount of English used in ordinary French conversation that it has published a series of pamphlets giving the standard French words for use in carpentry, plumbing, mechanics, and sports like bowling.

Sociolinguistic Factors

There has always been two kinds of French in Canada: standard French and the local dialect. Horace Miner in his classic ethnography of French Canada, *St. Denis* writes:

> The schools try to disseminate standard French by eliminating not only English words but also antiquated forms, local variations, and bad grammar. However, the teachers are daughters of local farmers and speak much the same dialect as their students. Such teachers can correct grammar and retard the use of some of the words and expressions on the list of nonstandard French forms but usually the substitute expressions are accepted as literary ones which have no particular bearing on common speech. This conscious revision of the local language has effected a few changes in pronunciation and choice of words. Such change is usually accomplished by attaching an aroma of humor to the nonstandard word and ridicule to its user. This method necessitates the development of a particular attitude on the part of the natives toward their speech. The priests, urban professional men, and governmental officers, and schools, newspapers, and radios, have all, either by example or crusading force, made the native feel that his traditional speech is a brogue, a patois. It symbolizes the uneducated «habitant»; a word which is gaining a derogatory significance. The curé preaches: «You are no longer «habitants»; you are «cultivateurs.» (Miner, 1939, 33).

This self consciousness about their dialect is common among older Franco-Vermonters. The conflict between the two forms of language is reinforced by the local high school French teachers, especially if they are of Franco-American extraction. It is their duty to teach local children how to speak good French. Even bilingual and bicultural specialists are hard put to deal with the question. On the one hand, advocates of transitional bilingual education, push the use of the home dialect in the early years of education – but argue that the ultimate goal is to eventually replace it with English in the classroom. Other bilingual-bicultural experts who advocate maintenance of the French language in the school argue the benefits of speaking a language that has currency in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Bilingualism, for them means bidialectalism, at best, including abilities to speak, comprehend, read, and write French, particularly a standard French which can be used to communicate throughout the Francophone world. Neither form of bilingual-bicultural education is geared to maintain, intact, the French Canadian dialect in the home. The old stigmas, consciously or not, remain.

Just as there are different styles of French, there are different styles of English. Each of us is multilingual to some extent: that is, we have different styles and forms of language which we use in different social contexts. However, if the dialects of English used in the home and community are so advanced to be almost nonintelligible to outsiders, we may have to consider this a bilingual problem as well. Rowland Robinson in his story, ***Uncle Lisha's Shop***, gives us examples of Franco-Vermont English:

> «Ah, Onc' Lasha' You pooty bad hole man. Haow you fell dat time you tink you dead? Wha' you tink you go? A'nt you sorry you don't was been mo' gooder? Wh' you tink you go, hein?» (Robinson, 1933, 138).

It is no wonder, the child who must juggle four different dialects, each to a large degree, mutually unintelligible, opts for only one: the English dialect of his anglophone peers and classmates.

Economic Realities

In 1863, the Canadians of Burlington organized a chapter of the Union St. Jean Baptiste – the well-known mutual aid society whose chief purposes were to preserve the French language and cultural traditions. The economic realities of American life can be seen in their motto: «Au dehors, l'anglais pour les affaires, mais à la maison, rien que du français.» Outside, English for business, but at home, nothing but French. It was a difficult dualism to maintain. Without functional value, the French language soon deteriorated to a language used with the very old, (grandparents), and the very young (infants).

The church, where once the battles of language were fought – (French the guardian of the faith) – was, in most cases, unable to maintain its French services. In 1934, for example, Reverend Pariseau of St. Joseph's in Burlington appealed to Bishop Rice to allow him to preach his sermons in English. The Bishop replied:

> The French language is and must always be the language of St. Joseph's Parish. But due to the conditions that about one-half of the members of the parish do not understand French enough so that they can profit from a sermon in that language, and that about 80% of the parishioners are rather English-speaking people, I grant the special privilege that: a) Announcements may be read in English, but must be first read in French; b) Instructions may be given in English, but a sermon in French must immediately precede the English one. (Rogers, 1973, 10).

The erosion of French language services continued to its inevitable conclusion. The experience of St. James Catholic Church in Island Pond is typical of many:

> During a mission on June 14, 1940, Father Therier, pastor for 21 years, died. His death marked the end of bilingualism in the parish. This was not just a local pattern but one which had taken place in hundreds of parishes in New England and New York. (Carbonneau, 1970,p.7).

It was the local priest who kept the French language traditions alive. But more often than not, French-speaking priests were replaced by non French-speaking priests, even in areas like Canaan where the population is heavily French. This has become an additional hardship for those older Franco-Vermonters who want to have their confessions heard in French; and a hardship for parents who want to help their children with their catechism, but who learned it in another language.

The parochial school followed the same pattern. St. Francis Xavier School in Winooski reflects the trend. Richard Hatin, a former student at the school, declared, «Ten years ago French was used in the classroom for half a day; then it was reduced to an hour a day, now French is an optional subject like any other foreign language in the school.» There are too few parents interested in seeing their children learn French, and too few teachers in the elementary parochial schools who can teach it. In addition, financial difficulties plague the parish school system: more and more of them are closing – more and more students are, as a result, moved into the public school systems where, except for a few places like Canaan, Vermont, they have even less French instruction at the elementary level.

The monolingual French child is not prepared for the public school system. Added to his natural timidity in entering a new experience is the bewilderment of incomprehension and misunderstanding. Often, the child begins to resent his parents, since they did not prepare him for school by teaching him English. He soon finds it more comfortable to respond to his parents' questions in English. He and his younger siblings begin to play in English like they do in school at recess. He has lost most of his «raison d'être» for speaking French.

Marcel Charland, former director of the Bilingual Project in Island Pond sums up the realities of the situation well:

> Within the project area, English is the principal language used for practically all public functions including town meetings, school instruction, social services, religious worship and instruction, government operations, auctions, buying and selling in stores and shops, industries and daily work, recreation and by the news media.
>
> The French language is not formally denied for the public functions listed but over the years its use has diminished in these areas to the point of being at present not a viable means of satisfactory communication for most members of the originally French-speaking community, and it is used publicly by the children of French-speaking parents, among themselves when at play or at school.
>
> (Charland, 1973, 1).

And so the language is rapidly being lost. There are few first generation Franco-Americans who feel comfortable in French, and fewer second generation who can speak it at all.

But the situation is not one without remedy. A few years back instructors of the College of Education at the University of Vermont along with Canaan community people decided to encourage Franco-Vermont parents to become more involved with their school system. They came to the conclusion that potluck dinners and discussion groups would bring people together. The final result was that there is more French heard on the streets of Canaan, today, than there was five years ago.

But what is ultimately needed is a reason for learning French and maintaining it.

For example, some of the young men of Canaan maintain their French because it helps them in dating French-Canadian girls in Sherbrooke, Québec.

Bilingual-bicultural programs where one is taught not French, but in French and where one is taught to feel positively about one's heritage and home, may, in part, reduce linguistic assimilation. But the ultimate realities are economic. Parents and children must be convinced that speaking French is economically viable. It is not so, as long as teachers are monolingual in English, and only their classroom teacher aides are bilingual, if indeed there are any.

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THE FRANCO-AMERICAN HERITAGE IN MANCHESTER, N. H.

by

Thaddeus M. Piotrowski, Ph.D.

PREFACE

There are three types of «French» people living in Manchester, N. H. today. These are: the French from France; the French-Canadians; and the Franco-Americans. This monograph will generally concern itself with the group which represents the largest French contingent in Manchester, the Franco-Americans–which happen to be overwhelmingly French-Canadian in origin.

The difference between the French-Canadians and Franco-Americans is that while the former are still citizens of Canada possessing a French heritage, the latter (who also possess a French heritage) are not Canadian citizens (although at one time they may have been) but rather they are American citizens.

By way of definition, the Franco-Americans are residents of the United States who, either by birth or the process of naturalization, are American citizens and consider–within the framework of our democratic pluralism–their French cultural heritage an integral component of the «American way of life.» They presently constitute a minority group which has stemmed from within. It does not exist in this country by reason of any treaty, or conquest, or territorial aggrandizement, that is, it is not a minority group in the European sense of the word. Rather, it results from the movement of individuals from one section of North America to another whom the bond of a common faith and a common language welded into a cohesive group.

Therefore, it is no wonder that the Franco-American ethnic group--by historical right–is entitled to a privileged position within the American commonwealth. In the continental sense of the word, it was already «American» before it flowed from Canada to the United States. In fact, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, in a lecture before the Boston City Club on March 20, 1908, would not even speak of the French-Canadians as «immigrants»:

> Later than any of these was the immigration of French-Canadians, but which has assumed such large proportions, and has become a strong and most valuable element of our population. But the French of Canada scarcely come within the subject we are considering because they are hardly to be classified as immigrants in the accepted sense. They represent one of the oldest settlements of this continent. They have been in the broad sense, Americans for generations, and their coming to the United States is merely a movement of Americans across an imaginary line from one part of America to another. [1]

In a research paper published in 1967 in *Le Travailleur* of Worcester, Dr. Robert A. Beaudoin showed that the word «Franco-American» appeared for the first time in *L'Avenir National* (a French daily once published in Manchester) in November of 1897. By February of 1898 it was already in common usage although there was still some disagreement surrounding the word. The name itself adequately characterizes these people's presence in the United States as their migration here was just another episode of the approximately two hundred years these French people collectively spent in Canada. After all, they were French fifteen centuries before becoming Canadian. Thus, the phrase «Franco-American» is used by the French from France living in the United States as well as by the Americans of French-Canadian descent. In addition, the French spoken by the French-Canadian--Americans approximates the basic French language as it is spoken in France. It can be said that there is only one French grammar but many local dialects.

At the present time, the total French-Canadian population of North America is about evenly divided between Canada and the United States, with approximately half of the American proportion residing in New England. In the United States, Franco-Americans claim a population of about one to two million.[2]

AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The largest city in New Hampshire was originally called «Nutfield» because of the many chestnut trees located in the area. This name was followed by others until in 1810, under the inspiration of Samuel Blodget, the town of Derryfield became the town of Manchester. At this time the total population of the Queen City was 615.

In 1831, the Amoskeag manufacturing company bought up virtually all the land where the city now stands. The following year, the streets of the town were laid out and lots were offered for public sale. In 1846, Manchester became incorporated as a city and nine years later, the mill property alone--covering over 1,400 acres of land – was valued in excess of $ 662,000.

The initial rapid expansion of Manchester, however, was not due to any French-Canadian influence. The French-Canadian population of Manchester before the first half of the 19th century was sparce indeed. This was partly attributable to the lack of transportation, (the railway between Montréal and Boston was built in 1851–until then business was done on horseback, as usual) but also to the New England colonial antipathy toward all foreigners and Catholics.

After 1850, however, the French-Canadian immigration grew to such proportions as to influence every phase of Manchester's existence: political, social, economic, and religious. Regarding the last, the Jesuit Hamon states:

> The rapidity with which it was accomplished, the facility with which the Canadians, transplanted on a strange soil, immediately reformed the Catholic mold of the parish that made them so strong in Canada, the energy they used to build churches, convents, to group together and to organize into flourishing congregations sustained interiorly by all that can nourish Christian piety, defended against all pernicious influences from without by the force of organization and a press generally well directed– all of these elements of Catholic life organized in a quarter of a century in the womb itself of the citadel of Puritanism seems to indicate an action as well as a providential mission which future alone will reveal in all its importance.[3]

The major reasons for the Canadian migration to the United States were the following: love of adventure, the precarious conditions of Canadian commerce and industry, the lack of public works, the shortage of employment in rural districts, the difficulty of obtaining high priced farms, the lack of roads and means of communication, the lack of educational opportunities for children, debts, poor crops, distant markets, propaganda, and discrimination.[4]

Generally, the Canadians who came to the States belonged to one of the three following categories: a) habitants, or those who came solely for the purpose of making some money to pay off their debts after which they would return to Canada; b) nomads, or those who moved aimlessly back and forth between the U. S. and Canada; and finally, c) the permanent residents, or those Canadians who established domicile, started organizations, built churches and schools, and were gainfully employed.

Regarding the third category, a list of firsts would include: Louis Bonin, who bears the distinction of being the first French-Canadian resident of Manchester--arrival date: 1833; Louis Marchand and Sara Robert, who contracted the first marriage (between French-Canadians) in the Queen City in 1839; the son of Mr. & Mrs. Benjamin Chartrand who was the first «first generation» French-Canadian to be born in Manchester (1851); and finally, John Jacques, who was the first French-Canadian to be interred in this city (1853).

By 1870 there were 2,500 French-Canadians in Manchester's total population of 23,536. In 1880 there number rose to 9,000, in 1887 to 12,770, in 1889 to 14,063, and in 1890 to 15,03l–which was one-third of Manchester. (For the Immigration Statistics by decades beginning with 1900 cf. section entitled, «Immigration Statistics For Manchester, N.H.»)

Needless to say, the Canadian government did not sit by idly while this mass exodus was emptying its chronically underpopulated country. As early as 1870–in a frantic effort to stem the emigration of its citizens and perhaps to entice its lost flock to return–Canada began offering 160 free acres of land to anyone who would settle it. This offer, however, did not apply to Canadians already established in the Province of Québec but only to immigrants, so that the exodus from Québec to the U. S. continued for many years. The Province of Québec also appropriated $ 60,000.00 for the task of returning expatriated Canadians. From all of New England only 600 families were finally induced to return «back home» and of that number 300 re-settled back in the States.[5]

The efforts of the Canadian government were for the most part offset by the glamorous propaganda campaign of the mill agents who conveniently «forgot» to tell the prospective «operators»–or mill workers--of the 72-hour week, of the noisy and dangerous nature of their occupation, of the cotton dust, the humidity, the heat, and the fatigue which caused many to fall ill and some, especially the children, to die. Neither did they tell them that the longest they could expect to work in the mills--at least until the nineteen hundreds–was about ten years.

And still it is incredible that upon coming here and being subjected to these harsh conditions of existence, they continued to stay on. Their wages, as the wages of their children after a few months of apprenticeship, were about a dollar a day. Jacques Ducharme in *The Shadows of the Trees*, records a scrap of paper showing the budget calculations of one of these very first immigrants in Manchester:

Wages – $ 1.00 per day
Five working in family
5x6 equals $ 30.00 week and
$ 120.00 month
Tenement $ 15.00 month
Food $ 20.00 month
Other items $ 10.00 month
Amount saved $ 75.00 month.[6]

The recruiting techniques of the mill agents, because they addressed themselves to the economic interests of the people, proved to be very successful. But it is the hardships endured in the transit which offer us the greater insight into the determination of these hardy immigrants. Jacques Ducharme provides us with several examples of the method of transportation in the early days. Nicolas Proulx, the great grandfather of Mr. Ducharme, was commissioned by his mill superintendent to recruit some mill help from Canada. His efforts produced 40 girls and boys who were sardined into old lumber wagons and brought to Manchester. The entire trip took only 10 days--which was fast even in those days. They would travel from early sunrise late into the night, sleep in barns or fields, and be sometimes greeted by angry townspeople who marched on them with guns and pitchforks.

Another case involves Clovis Davignon who came to Manchester on foot to rejoin his parents. «I had a little money,» related young Davignon, «and got as far as Newport. I met some French-Canadians at the station there, told them who I was, and where I was going. They loaned me some money. and I went to Manchester. From there I followed the river. My money didn't last long, and I worked on farms for my meals. I was about seventeen then, I didn't mind sleeping out of doors every now and then.»[7]

Well it took young Clovis Davignon full six weeks to get to this fair city where, after an adventurous trip, a good beating from his father, and a good night's rest, he got a job in the mills the very next day.

The immigration process itself was a recurrent drama of distanced love seeking reunion. The father, or elder child, or someone else would leave family and «fortune», procure a mill job, save money, and finally send for the others. Over the years it became a familiar sight in many New England towns: the anxiously-pacing, foreign-looking father awaiting his loved ones, the joyful reunion, and the grand procession «home».[8]

In time, with the accumulation of hard-earned capital, many French-Canadians broke the cycle of poverty and branched out into privately owned businesses and professions – or, they achieved positions of authority within the mills themselves. It was a well-founded belief that French-Canadians prefer and indeed do work better under the authority of one of their own.

Thus even before the Civil War, Maurice Mathon and Pierre Dorval opened their own grocery stores. Joseph Bellefeuille was a restaurant owner; Mr. Leblanc, a barber; and Joseph Duval, one of the first clerks to be hired by a large Manchester store. Then too, sensing an unchallenged and therefore lucrative practice in Manchester, came doctors and lawyers, as well as other professionals from Canada to «serve their people». Dr. A. L. Tremblay, for example, settled here in 1866.[9]

As the French-Canadians prospered and decided to remain permanently in Manchester, many bought homes and land. The first property ever owned by a French-Canadian was on Concord St. It was the home of Joseph Berard who settled here in 1850. 17 years later, Napoleon Dufort became the second homeowner in the city. But it was the McGregor St. bridge of 1881 which brought the French together into what is known as the «Notre Dame» section of Manchester. By 1882, there were 10 French-Canadian families living on the west side of the Merrimack River . . . «and it was natural that a people still interested in their native language should thus associate themselves together, the better to enjoy the advantage of mutual assistance and social contacts.»

The majority of the French-Canadians continued to be employed by the mills which prospered by leaps and bounds. But in 1922 an awesome notice appeared on the wall of the Amoskeag mill:

NOTICE

> Commencing Monday, February 13, 1922, a reduction of 20% will be made in all hour and piece rates in all departments of the Amoskeag. At the same time, the running time of the mills will be increased from 48 to 54 hours per week, in accordance with the schedule posted herewith.
>
> W.P. Straw, Agent[11]

The wage reduction was bad news indeed but it was the 54-hour week which infuriated the workers for some still recalled the human tragedy of former days and took this to be the first step in that direction. The strike which ensued lasted nine long months and forced some French-Canadians to go searching for employment elsewhere. Meanwhile, the company began a massive and somewhat successful recruitment campaign in Canada which partially offset the threat of a general mill shut-down.

In the end, the strikers agreed to work the 54 hours but for a higher rate of pay than originally promised. The Amoskeag had its last good year in 1929 with profits in excess of $1,065,000.00. In 1930 its net loss was $1,345,000.00.

THE FRANCO-AMERICAN HERITAGE IN MANCHESTER

The Franco-American heritage in Manchester represents an attempt by the members of that ethnic group to re-establish cultural ties with their distant past and the land they were constrained to leave behind. More than a means of achieving national identity, it was a way – or perhaps the way – of establishing a personal identity within a foreign land. Thus, the French customs and traditions, the French organizations and institutions, the French language and religion, were simply ways of affirming the fact that these people really and truly belonged in this «Great Society» of divergent origins. In this way did the Franco-Americans also contribute to the history and progress of Manchester, a city which also molded and shaped them.

SOCIETIES

One significant French society, *L'Union St-Jean Baptiste*, was founded in 1900. Though it was fundamentally a mutual aid group, it encouraged and supported many worthy causes and was essentially the force responsible for the rise and prosperity of most of the budding French parishes in Manchester. Besides guaranteeing sums of money to its members as a form of insurance in the case of illness or death, the *Union's* proclaimed objectives were:

a. To unite among themselves all Canadians
b. To furnish motives for fraternization
c. To cement union within the family unit
d. To promote national and economic interests of Canadian people and society
e. To raise funds for welfare purposes by annual subscriptions
f. To engage all members in the practice of honor and fraternity toward fellow Frenchmen
g. To prosper the undertakings of the Union through devotion to St. John Baptist.

L'Union was also concerned with providing for young children schooling in the French language as well as preparing them for their First Holy Communion. It was and is also responsible for the annual celebration of the feast of St. John the Baptist which falls on the twenty-fourth day of June. This day is usually marked by extravagant bonfires, rallies, parades, banquets and speeches by people of renown. The first public celebration of this event in Manchester was held in 1871 in Faneuil Hall. The first large scale celebration with all the festive trimmings occured in 1889.

In general, L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste is a fraternal organization established to promote the common good of the French population in New England. Currently, L'Union is the largest Franco-American society in the U.S. registering 52,404 members and holding assets in excess of 4,700,000.00.

In 1878 another mutual aid society was organized which was very similar to L'Union in its social functions. Called La Société St. Augustin, it existed for seven years in the parish whose name it bore.

In the time span generally known as the «Gay Nineties,» many such societies appeared and disappeared. Their main objective was to proffer financial aid to needy members but more significantly to promote Franco-American self-identity through the advancement of the French culture in the Queen City. One such society, founded in 1896 and incorporated in 1899, was actually a mutual insurance company (or a fraternal benefit society) organized and operated under the laws of the State of New Hampshire. This was L'Association Canado-Américaine (A.C.A.). The first president of the A.C.A. was T. J. Biron, an overseer for the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company. Its current president is Gérald Robert, the son of another A.C.A. president, Adolphe Robert.

The A.C.A.–which boasts over 27,000 members in 66 regional lodges throughout the U.S. and Canada, and which publishes its own French quarterly–is presently headquartered (since 1930) on Concord street in Manchester, N.H. This location serves a multiplicity of functions: as a reunion center; as an information center; as a meeting-place for the discussion of questions of mutual interest, or simply the memories of days gone by. But more importantly, the building houses a most unique library containing over 30,000 volumes of widely sought-after Americana and Canadiana. Furthermore, over the years the A.C.A. has granted scholarships to students in excess of $341,700.00. In monetary terms, as of December 31, 1972, the success of the A.C.A. is indeed impressive:

Insurance in Force	$50,471,649.00
Benefits Paid to Date	19,394,134.00
Dividends Paid	1,908,813.00
Total Assets	11,674,665.00
Surplus	1,146,156.00

The A.C.A. and L'Union, although alike in many respects, have consistently maintained divergent views on issues which at times have proved to be a source of friction between them. For example, L'Union seems to be more assimilation-minded insisting–as it does–on American citizenship as a prerequisite for membership and stressing the integrative aspects of French and American cultures. The A.C.A., on the other hand, willingly accepts both American and Canadian citizens and stresses, not assimilation, but cultural distinction–that is, the preservation of traditional Canadian cultural components.

DRAMA AND MUSIC CLUBS

Aside from the above very utilitarian French societies, there were and are a number of organizations whose principal aim was and continues to be to provide ways of meeting the expressive needs of the French population in Manchester. In the early days, due to the language barrier as well as racial prejudice, the French were severely limited in their access to Manchester's cultural and recreational centers. To the hard-pressed French mill-hand, whose leisure hours were severely limited, the formation of such societies was especially important.

Thus in 1870 a drama club by the name of Le Club Dramatique Canadien-Français de Manchester, New Hampshire–the first of its kind in the city–was formed under the direction of

Dr. A. J. Tremblay. Among its accomplishments were many operas presented at the Strand Theater, the favorite one being «The Bells of Normandy.»

Four years later, the first public concert of La Bande Canadienne was conducted by J. R. Lafricain. This musical group was later to become known as the «City Band.»

Other drama and musical groups followed including: Le Bijou (1879); Les Amateurs Canadiens (1880); Le Club Jacques Cartier (1890); L'Offenbach Musical Club (1894); the Orpheon Society (1920); and Société D'Operettes (1940) with an accompanying ladies auxiliary (1941). Also deserving of mention is the variety of church choirs such as those of Saint Cecilia, St. John the Baptist, and Ste Marie.

NATURALIZATION CLUBS

We find in the 1880's a proliferation of naturalization clubs whose function it was to aid French-Canadian citizens in their quest for americanization. The Jolliet Club, founded in 1884, is one such organization having an additional interest in literature. At one time the Jolliet Club was headquartered in the present A.C.A. building but prohibition and financial strain forced it to seek a new home. The location of the club changed several more times until it finally settled in its present domicile on High Street. The naturalization service provided by the Jolliet Club ended in 1928, after which date it was carried on by the Jutras Post of the American Legion (founded in 1920 and named in honor of the first Franco-American to be killed in the American armed forces) and by St. Augustin church. Now the oldest as well as the largest Franco-American civic, social club in Manchester, its membership listing displays the names of many prominent and influential men of the city.

Several other clubs were established for the same purpose as the Jolliet Club: The Cercle National; Club Lafayette (a civic luncheon club); The Montcalm Club; and the Canadian Club to name but a few. All are now predominantly social organizations.

SPECIALIZED SOCIETIES

Specialized societies were established in the form of military guards such as: the Lafayette Guard, 143rd Regiment of Franco-American Volunteers of the United States Army (est. in 1887 and sponsored by the Lafayette Club); the Montcalm Guard established in 1915 and sponsored by the Montcalm Club; and the Foch Guard established in 1920. The poem below was written by a Franco-American with a good sense of humor and appeared in one of Manchester's earlier newspapers. Many of its passages relate to the Lafayette Guard.

The Guard of Lafayette

My w'fe she say to me to-day
  you mak' mistake ol'man
To join de Yankee harmy in de rank
  of Honcle Sam;
De worl' is full of commotion since
  hexplosion of de Maine.
And de dev's to pay in Cuba
  and de paymaster is Spain.

De lan' of ma adoption is as good
  a home for me,
As across de line in Canada,
  my native counterie.
Ma home, ma work, ma fren' are here,
  in fac' de hol' dem set;
So wat can I do but join de «Blue»
  in Guard of Lafayette!

I don't care for me for noboday
  but stand up for de right

If Honcle Sam he send de word
an' tink he's got to fight,
Good-by ma work on Amoskeag--
I leave it quick you bet–
An join de boy wit hutmos' joy
in Guard of Lafayette.

O! Ai't it mak' sensation on de street
of Manchester,
W'en de horder come from Honcle Sam
to march us down to war!
Noboday'll know dat dis is Joe
from dear ol' Nicolet
W'en off I march jus, still like starch
in Guard of Lafayette!

Den Rosy dear don' drop dat tear,
but cheer hup lak ma joy,
You know dat Maine went down in flame
wit all de sailor boy!
So if de blame is place on Spain,
an' Honcle Sam say «get»!
Just wish us well and shout lak hell
for Guard of Lafayette!

Other diverse societies included: a Pontifical Zouaves Society formed in 1887; the Canadian Building Company of Construction (1893); the Alumni of the Ancient Students of Hevey School (1924); and, of course, the venerable «Snowshoe Clubs», the most prominent of these being the Alpine Club which sponsored the Convention of Snowshoers Union of Canada and the United States in Manchester in 1927 and again in 1972.

NOTABLE EVENTS

Several notable events contributing to the spread of a French culture in Manchester were: the First Convention of Franco-Americans of New Hampshire held in Manchester in 1890; the establishment of a French hour on WFEA radio in 1938 (now heard on WGIR); and the Comité D'Orientation Franco-Américain devoted to uniting all Franco-Americans of New England in the methodical and coherent pursuit of a common ideal in America held in 1947. A musical festival, Fédération des Chorales Franco-Américaines – in which all local French singing groups participated – was held in Manchester in May of 1962.

SERVICE CLUBS

The 1950's marked an observable trend away from fraternal organizations to service clubs. The best example of the latter is Manchester's Richelieu Club. Basically a sober, Christian, and prayer oriented organization, the Richelieu's chief aim is to promote personality development through such means as the club's annual project of sponsoring a summer outing for the children of St. Peter's Orphanage. One structural difference between a service club and a fraternal one lies in the length of the term of club office. Thus, while the service club holds annual elections, an office in a fraternal club may be held indefinitely.

PUBLICATIONS

In the sometimes vested interest of keeping the Franco-American population abreast of Canadian news and conversely of keeping the Canadians informed of New England news, several French newspapers sprang up in Manchester.

La Voix du Peuple bears the distinction of being the first French newspaper published in Manchester. Its founders were Dr. Tremblay and Ferdinand Gagnon. The newspaper, however, was short-lived (lasting only from February 25, 1869 to September 15 of the same year) because the French population of Manchester was not yet sufficient to maintain it. Before the end of 1891, 13 other French newspapers met a similar fate.

One publication which did survive until 1949 was *L'Avenir Canadien* (est. 1889). Its name was changed to *L'Avenir National* in 1895. *L'Avenir* was succeeded by a newspaper called *L'Action.*

Today various societies continue to print their own publications such as the A.C.A.'s *Quarterly* and L'Union's (of Woonsocket, R.I.) *L'Union*.

POLITICS AND COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

Upon arriving in Manchester the French were not reluctant to participate in political elections and to run for political office. Initially, this was very difficult since the stringent naturalization laws required them to wait five years for the privilege of citizenship and therefore franchise. Among some of the more notable early Franco-American office holders of the city are Abraham G. Grenier who, in 1882, was elected as the city councilor for Ward Three and Francis Xavier who joined Mr. Grenier in a similar post. Both were Republicans.

In less than ten years there were two more French city councilors as well as four Representatives on the New Hampshire State Legislature. In 1896, Henri J. Lemay became the head of Manchester's Board of Education. And since 1917 all the city's mayors with the exception of John Mongan–were French. The first one was Moïse Verrette; the current one is Sylvio Dupuis.

Other prominent Franco-Americans in Manchester--and it is impossible to list them all--include: Dr. Z. A. Lavoie, president of the Hillsborough County Medical Society; Arthur E. Moreau, once a prominent Manchester merchant; Adolphe and Gérald Robert, past and present presidents of the Association Canado-Américaine; Judge Alfred J. Chrétien and Armand Capistran, past and present presiders of the Manchester District Court; the Most Reverend G. A. Guertin, Bishop of Manchester from 1906 to 1935; and the Most Reverend Ernest Primeau, the current Bishop of the diocese. A. N. Belcourt, writing in 1923 of the Franco-American settlement in Manchester, had put it well:

> They at once entered freely and with zest into the public life of their respective community, state, city, town or village, seeking and obtaining and always increasing representation in the municipal council, in the state legislature, in Congress and in several instances at the very top of the state. The cities and towns which they have created, the parts which they have developed, as well as their general good standing are convinced evidence of their adaptability, intelligence, courage and determination to secure for themselves the advantage and influence which they enjoy under the aegis of the Star Spangled Banner. All this, with their natural fecundity and willingness to multiply, undoubtedly affords ample promise of their rapid and substantial advancement. [12]

THE FAMILY

The «natural fecundity and willingness to multiply» of which Belcourt spoke was certainly very characteristic of early Catholic French settlers in Manchester. Aside from the religious injuctions regarding procreation and the natural tendency to perpetuate one's name through progeny, the large Franco-American families (from 6 to 22 children) served a very pragmatic function: they assured a household of financial stability in the crucial years of re-settlement. Today, as the French no longer occupy the bottom-most rung of the social ladder, such families are the exception rather than the rule.

This is not to say that Franco-Americans tended to exploit their biological prowess and their children for the sake of mere gain, for one can have a large family and love it too. Indeed, if one were to state--in capsule form--the single, most identifying characteristic of the French, that indicator would be their extremely strong family ties. This can be seen especially well in Franco-American holiday observances which are all family centered. The Christmas season, for example, is a time for general family reunions and great display of familial affection. New Year's too, is highlighted by the paternal blessing of the children by the father. The latter example provides us also with a clear indicator as to the Franco-American family structure: it is patriarchal par excellence.

RELIGION

Perhaps the greatest single contribution of the Franco-Americans to the city of Manchester is the Catholic parish and all it represents. For the French--even in this secular society--the parish constitutes the focal point of their existence; it is the extension of their individualized family units.

In the beginning there were no Catholic parishes in Manchester at all. After 1839, Manchester was declared a mission and several priests--the first of whom was Fr. John B. Daly--began making regular visits to minister to the spiritual needs of local Catholics. In 1843, Fr. McDonald was commissioned to begin St. Anne's parish for the 500 some-odd Catholics of the city. This event was certainly a boon to the resident French populace as well as to the prospective French-Canadian immigrants who preferred to settle in a place where they could practice their religion.

Unfortunately--for the French--St. Anne's church was founded by and for the Irish Catholics of Manchester and the sermon was always in English. Furthermore, many Irish practices, such as the reverent bowing of the head at Consecration followed by a sign of the cross, irritated the former French-Canadians who by custom and tradition always looked directly at the host. Conversely, the Irish often looked askance at these «foreigners» who dared to confront the divinity in such an «insolent» manner.

With growing friction and consternation, the French finally appealed for a clergyman of their own ranks and so Fr. Levesque arrived in Manchester in 1849. But misfortune struck again for once during the liturgy, which was being celebrated on the second floor of an old wooden building, the floor collapsed leaving the shaken parishioners in their carriages which were parked underneath. Needless to say, Fr. Levesque's stay was short-lived. After him several other French missionaries--the most notable of whom was Fr. Isidore Moiseux (1856)--served the Franco-American community.

Finally in 1871, the French population of Manchester numbering 2,500 people received a resident priest, Fr. Joseph-Augustin Chevalier, who was instrumental in building St. Augustin church located on the corner of Beech and Spruce streets. The church was dedicated on November 27, 1872. Some time later more land was purchased on Beech street for the cemetery.

Within a decade, the ever increasing number of Franco-Canadian immigrants in Manchester warranted the erection of another French parish. And so a small, unimpressive chapel was built on the forested west bank of the Merrimac River by Fr. J. D. Halde. The area itself was destined to become the «Notre Dame» section of the city inhabited predominantly by the French. The small chapel, bearing the name of Sainte Marie, was later (1891) to be replaced by the great gothic church on the west side--a perpetual symbol of the unity, faith, and the cultural heritage of Manchester's Franco-Americans. With the purchase of a cemetery in 1881 (now Mount Calvary Cemetery bordering Goffstown Rd.) the parish ran into debt but was «saved» by Fr. Halde's successor, Fr. Pierre Hevey, the same who built the present Ste Marie's–one almost wants to say–cathedral.

The third parish which was founded within the twenty year span between 1871 and 1891, and was that of St. George on the east side of the city. As the French population increased (in 1891 it was already over 15,000) several other parishes followed: St. Anthony (1899);Sacred Heart (1911); St. Edmond (1912); St. John the Baptist (1914); and St. Theresa (1923-24). These national parishes, still operative, bring the grand total of the French parishes in Manchester to eight.

To the Franco-American his parish is never merely a church. Rather it is a means of achieving national and personal identity. Among other things, it provides the French-American child with a school whose specific mission is to inculcate within him the Christian doctrine and French culture. In light of this, the recent French opposition to the diocesan plan of saving the parochial school system by forming regional schools is quite understandable. In plain language, what this means is the closing of the already weakened French parish schools.

In the majority of the eight French parishes several Masses are said in French today and church publications are printed in both French and English. Many of these parishes maintain inter-parish French organizations such as the Ladies of St. Anne, the League of the Sacred Heart, and the Children of Marie. The penny sales, beano games, parties, and annual carnivals also provide an opportunity for the French to gather socially. Finally, the Catholic War Veterans, although not a specifically French organization, is a very popular as well as influential group working within the Franco-American parishes of Manchester.

CHURCH AFFILIATED INSTITUTIONS

It is important to point out that the French parishes in the Queen City do more than just minister to the spiritual needs of their constituents. Like their great predecessors of the middle ages, these churches are also social institutions providing quality care to the sick, the aged, the orphaned, and to those in need.

In 1892, St. Augustin parish opened its St. Vincent de Paul Orphanage. In the same year Ste Marie opened its Asylum for the Aged and Orphaned, an institution administered by the Sisters of Charity of St.Hyacinthe from Québec. Later the Asylum came to be known as St. Peter's Orphanage, and today it is a Day Care center. In 1888, Ste Marie's parish opened a hospital which was later relocated and dedicated in October of 1894 under the title of L'Hopital Notre Dame de Lourdes. This too was staffed by the Sisters of Charity. In 1911, a training school for nurses was added to the hospital and in the 1950's other structural changes were made. Currently the hospital is run under the auspices of a lay Board of Directors.

An institution which deserves special mention is La Caisse Populaire Sainte Marie or St. Mary's Bank located on the west side of the city. La Caisse Populaire was originally a parish organization established by Fr. Pierre Hevey, the pastor of St. Marie's church. In 1908, in an effort to prevent his parishioners from squandering their hard-earned savings in «get-rich-quick» schemes and to promote the building of homes and businesses, Fr. Hevey launched what was later to become the first credit union in the United States. Accredited on April 6, 1909 as St. Marie Co-Operative Association, the organization did its business at various locations in the Notre Dame section of West Manchester. Finally an impressive granite structure was built on the corner of Amory and Main Streets to house it. In 1970 this building was replaced by an equally impressive structure at 200 McGregor St. Presently the second floor of La Caisse Populaire Sainte Marie also houses the offices of two other organizations: The AAA and the University of New Hampshire, The Merrimack Valley Branch.

EDUCATION

But it was into the schools that the Franco-American parishes devoted most of their energy. The very first French parish in Manchester, St. Augustin set up a school in the convent of the Order of Jesus-Marie Sisters from Sillery, Québec in 1882. As it was the custom to teach the sexes separately, an old public school building was purchased nearby in 1885 for the education of the boys of the parish who after 1889 were taught by the Sacred Heart Brothers.

In 1885 Sainte-Marie parish followed suit and erected a school building (presently Holy Angels Academy) staffing it with the Sisters of Charity of St. Hyacinthe. One year later a boys' building was erected on Wayne St. When the Sisters of Charity were forbidden to teach boys in 1890, the Marist Brothers of France were invited to continue the task in the school now named in honor of Fr. Hevey.

In 1899, St. George's parish founded a school which in 1915 became a free school. In 1924, St. George High School for Girls came into existence and in the same year the Hevey school also became a high school for girls. Later, the school became co-educational. Another high school was established in 1933 at St. Anthony's parish.

The parishes of St. Jean-Baptiste, St. Edmond, Sacred Heart and St. Theresa all built their churches as two-storied structures with classrooms on the second floor. In the case of all these parishes, as money became available, new churches were built and the old chapels on the first floor of the old structures were renovated to provide more classroom space. The first true convent school in New Hampshire, Villa Augustina, was established in 1916 in Goffstown and was staffed by the Sisters of Jesus-Marie. Other orders which taught in the French schools of Manchester include: the Sisters of the Presentation of Mary; the Sisters of Providence; and the Sisters of the Holy Cross.

By 1947, there were over 5,000 children enrolled in Manchester's French parochial schools. Originally, the entire school curriculum was taught in French. Later, the French language was relegated to a half a day, and now it is taught as a «foreign language.» School subjects often taught from Québec textbooks, included: Art; Music; Penmanship; Politeness; Religion; French Grammar; History; Mathematics; Science; and English.

In recent years many French parochial schools in Manchester have shared the universal tragedy of all such private institutions throughout the country: lack of finances, lack of staffing, and sometimes, lack of students. For example, within the span of five years, St. Edmond parochial school was forced to shut down, St. John the Baptist school decreased the number of grades from eight to six, and St. Marie's school merged with a non-French counterpart, St. Patrick school. Also recently, St. Anthony High School merged with two other parochial high schools, Bishop Bradley and Immaculata, to form the present Trinity High. St. Marie's High School is now being utilized as a Regional Catholic Junior High.

Once many of Manchester's second generation Franco-American students, aided by grants and scholarships, were able to obtain higher education in Canada, but their numbers now have also dwindled. The third generation Franco-Americans for the most part–if they go for higher education at all–enroll at the various university, colleges, and vocational training institutes in the area.

Among the colleges of New England of French background is Manchester's Notre Dame College established in 1950 and staffed by the Sisters of the Holy Cross, a predominantly French Order.

LANGUAGE

The story is often told of a young French boy who went to confession and, while declaring his many sins, accused himself of stealing a cheval (French for horse). The priest pried the boy about the theft but the boy only repeated that he had stolen a cheval. Finally, the matter resolved itself when it dawned on the priest that all his questions were impertinent since what the boy really stole was a shovel and not a cheval. That poor lad, it seems, must go to confession in every language for the Polish, the Germans, the Spanish, and all the rest abuse him in a similar manner.

This story is included here to illustrate a very simple but a very important point which is, that the assimilation process in and of itself necessarily produces certain conflicting situations which are unavoidable and sometimes tragic. The story of the boy stealing the cheval (or was it shovel?) is an amusing one and bears no tragic consequences except perhaps to the owner of the shovel (or was it cheval?). But the tragedy of the first-generation child laughed at by his peers, misunderstood by his teachers, and criticized by dim-witted adults, is a real live, recurrent tragedy where real tears flow. And the only sin of the child is that he hails from two cultures and sometimes cannot think of both words at once to describe an object or express an idea. Thus, it is no wonder that we often find young men with accents so thick one needs a chain saw to cut through them, desperately and in vain striving to hide their foreign origin or parentage which by all rational standards should be a source of pride and self-esteem.

And what of those who over the years have sought fit to Anglicize or even translate their true names because of shame or Anglo-Saxon pressure–or more precisely, because of the shame caused by Anglo-Saxon pressure? The following are but a few examples:

Proulx	to	Prew
Mayer		Miet
Arsenault		Snow
Courtemanche		Shortsleeve
Boisvert		Greenwood
Leblanc		White
Lamontagne		Hill
Goddu		Goodhue
Dubois		Wood
Bourgeois		Burgess
Charpentier		Carpenter
Paré		Perry
Levesque		Bishop
Letourneau		Turner
Dupont		Bridge or Bridges
Gosselin		Goslin
Morin		Moore
Bérubé		Burpee or Burbee
Bourque		Burke
Garneau		Garner
Laliberté		Freeman
Michaud		Mitchell[13]

In Manchester too, the French–like the other ethnic groups–have had their bilingual problems, their share of discrimination and name-calling from the ranks of those whose parents too were «foreigners.» But then, neither can the French be absolved of similar guilt. Such is the nature of prejudice!

Yet even those who resolutely adhered to their French heritage, culture, and language have had a difficult time in the land of White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestantism. With the assault of contemporary radio, television, movies, newspapers, magazines, school, and business, it has been almost impossible, for instance, to preserve the native language such as it was spoken «back home.» And let us be perfectly clear about one thing (to use the strongest phrase known to contemporary America) the language spoken «back home» even if «back home» is Paris, was never «Parisian French.» The myth of «Parisian French» is a mere contrivance designed to assail the colorful colloquialisms of Franco-Americans. And if one has ever heard Franco-Americans indulge in their colloquialisms he no doubt would immediately subscribe to the myth. Franco-American colloquialisms in reality are nothing more than the slurring-over of words which are written as the «Stratfordatte-Bowe» school would have it. The following are some examples:

y ont	for	ils ont
y a		il a
théquière		théière
p'tit		petit
icitte		ici
moué & toué		moi & toi
a ras la maison		à côté de la maison
v'là		voilà [14]

Moreover, staying on the amusing side of this tragedy, some of the early translations of English by Franco-Americans are comical indeed. For example, they mistook the word «dustpans» for «dustpants» and proceeded to translate it as «pantalons de poussière.» On the other hand, there is a story of an enterprising Englishman who translated the French phrase «cinq heures dans quart» (a quarter of five) as «five o'clock in a barrel!»

Finally we shall end with this sobering passage:

> Through evolution and time, the Franco-American element has lost many of its characteristics. In reality, it may be said that the French language is almost lost for a majority of the children of the third generation. But what about the fourth? I agree entirely with Mr. Lemaire when he says that 'there will always be French spoken in New England. Perhaps it will not be spoken as much as before, but it will be of better quality.' How can it be otherwise when the whole history of the United States is impregnated with French culture through the French origin of 23 States, the role held by France in the War of Independence, the framework of the Constitution inspired by 'L'esprit des lois' of Montesquieu, the participation of French Canada in the Civil War, the close proximity to the Province of Québec, the progress of education which is no longer the privilege of the elite but of the masses, the development of international tourism, the general use of the radio, the pressure exerted by the Federal Government for the knowledge of foreign languages, the foundation of Franco-American Institutes, and finally, because the knowledge of the French language offers an outlet to our Franco-American youth to earn a living through teaching, interpretation, the common market, diplomatic service, the peace corps, etc. [15]

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

In recent years great efforts have been made to set up a French cultural program in the city of Manchester, the State of New Hampshire, and in other New England states. [16]

Due to the decline of French parochial schools and the limited French instruction given in the still viable ones, the Committee for French Development has been centering its attention on the possibility of utilizing the public school system for this purpose.

Three years ago (in 1971), Louisiana had allowed French to be taught as a second language in its public schools. The school system obtained financial aid from the State of Louisiana as well as $150,000.00 from France to help promote a program called the «Council for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL). Because of the success of the Louisiana project, a similar one had been proposed for New England. It is appropriately called CODOFINE, the NE standing for New England.

The CODOFINE Association met at Notre Dame College as recently as October, 1972 with representatives from Québec, Louisiana, and all six New England states to discuss future goals as well as funding measures for this endeavor. On July 11, 1973, by the invitation of the Louisiana Commission, a luncheon was scheduled for the Governors and Congressional delegates from the New England states to see whether federal funds could be made available to promote a Franco-American cultural program in the Northeast. After this, a bill was introduced to the New Hampshire legislature and upon passing both houses the bill to promote such a program in the state was signed by Governor Meldrim Thomson.

The constituency of the New Hampshire Commission for the promotion of Franco-American language and culture includes: Louis Martel from Manchester, President; Gérald Robert from Manchester; Maurice Lavoie from Nashua; Leo G. Ouellette from Farmington; and Réné Boucher from Somersworth.

Its duties include: to establish, maintain, and develop cultural ties between French-Canadians and French speaking Americans; to foster a special interest in the historical and cultural backgrounds of these groups as well as the economic, political, social, and artistic life of the countries involved; and finally, to help establish and promote French language programs in the state schools of New Hampshire.

Last year (in October of 1973) a conference was held at the University of New Hampshire's New England Center to evaluate French education at the university level. At this time, President Bonner had expressed a need for someone to teach a History of Québec course in 1974 and Mr. Robert was asked to look into the matter.

Furthermore, a student exchange program between U.N.H. and Canada was also recommended and is currently under deliberation. Mr. William Bittenbender, the Chairman of the State Board of Education, speaking in French expressed his support for a widespread effort to enhance both the French language and the French culture in North America.

Beginning in November of 1973, Channel 9 (WMUR) of Manchester has been broadcasting *Soirée Canadienne* – a complete French program presented each Sunday from 4:00 to 5:00. WENH TV also sponsors the program *Rythmes* twice a week. Plans are now being made through the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in Washington to begin broadcasting all day French programs imported from Sherbrooke, Québec. These programs are tentatively scheduled to begin in July of 1974 on Channel 3, cable television.

The *Manchester Union Leader* has for some time now been printing a weekly French column in its Wednesday editions by Mrs. Marcelle Martel.

A course entitled «Canada's Two Cultures» is currently being offered by the Merrimack Valley Branch; and the U.N.H. History

Department is considering offering a course at the Branch tentatively titled: «Our Lives in the Past and Present: The French-Canadian-American Experience.» This course will host a number of qualified lecturers on a variety of topics pertinent to Franco-American-Canadian studies.

And finally, the faculty of the Merrimack Valley Branch is currently working on a curriculum proposal which will include a «Regional Studies» cluster.

THE INTERCULTURAL-ARTS FESTIVAL

In 1971 there were two French-Canadian booths in Manchester's Intercultural-Arts Festival. The first was the Québec booth whose theme was white and blue with «fleur de lis». The materials displayed included folders, pamphlets, maps, brochures, recipes, illustrations, posters, etc. all supplied by the Québec Government Bureau in Boston. A valuable collection of photographs (courtesy of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs of the Province of Québec) portrayed a variety of subjects, studies and scenes of everyday life in Québec.

The ethnic food and specialties in the Québec booth included «Soupe aux pois à la canadienne,» pain sur la sole, tourtières, cretons, tartes au sucre, tartes à «la ferlouche,» sucre à la crème, pâtisseries (éclairs, choux à la crème Chantilly, millefeuilles), and café.

The musical program featured «Le Consensus» a group of young college students from Québec City and suburbs who presented arrangements of folk songs with piano, guitars, and flute. While here, these young people also participated in a short film in the studios of Channel 11 in Durham.

There were no specific costumes, only plain old-fashioned dresses worn by the ladies serving food.

The second, the Canadian booth, featured a theme of white and red with maple leaf. The materials included folders, pamphlets, brochures, maps, and various information on the Maritime provinces. There were also huge panels depicting scenes from Canada, including the famous Royal Canadian «Mounties.» The Canadian Consulate in Boston had also provided a projector and carrousels of famous scenes and events such as from hockey games, the famous barrage of Manicouagan, and the tulip gardens of Ottawa.

In 1972 the theme of the Canadian booth was white and red in maple leaf design. Information included pamphlets, maps, and brochures on camping, fishing, sports, etc. There was an exhibit of rock and mineral specimens collected in Canada (courtesy of the Canadian Consulate) as well as a variety of slides on Canada. A group of students from Ste Marie High School, under the direction of a Sister of Presentation gave a vivid historical presentation of George Washington and the Marquis de La Fayette. Moreover, some eighty grammar school students under the direction of Miss Bernadette Benard presented a medley of French folk songs.

All visitors were given small gold maple leaf pins--courtesy of the Canadian Consulate in Boston.

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS FOR MANCHESTER , N. H.

The statistical information below comes from the Population Division, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C. By «foreign stock» is meant persons who were themselves foreign born or were children of foreign or mixed parentage. The fluctuation between «foreign stock» and «foreign born» reflects the methodology of the Census Bureau from decade to decade.

1970

Population (City)	87,754
Foreign Stock (City)	31,752
Foreign Stock (Canada)	18,584
Foreign Stock (France)	227

1960

Population (City)	88,282
Foreign Stock (City)	38,784
Foreign Stock (Canada)	22,252
Foreign Stock (France)	189
Mother Tongue of Foreign Born (French)	5,095

1950

Population (City)	82,732
Foreign Born (City)	14,391
Foreign Born (Canada-French)	6,991
Foreign Born (Canada-Other)	878
Foreign Born (France)	87

1940

Population (City)	77,685
Foreign Born (City)	17,396
Foreign Born (Canada-French)	8,432
Foreign Born (Canada-Other)	1,278
Foreign Born (France)	61

1930

Population (City)	76,834
Foreign Born (City)	21,944
Foreign Born (Canada-French)	10,696
Foreign Born (Canada-Other)	1,422
Foreign Born (France)	125
Natives of Foreign or Mixed Parentage:	
– Canada-French	16,149
– Canada-Other	2,122
– France	187

1920

Population (City)	78,384
Foreign Stock (City)	59,455
Foreign Stock (Canada-French)	26,706
Foreign Stock (Canada-Other)	3,683
Foreign Stock (France)	120

1910

Population (City)	70,063
Foreign Born (City)	29,708
Foreign Born (Canada-French)	13,720
Foreign Born (Canada-Other & Newfoundland)	2,721
Foreign Born (France)	54

1900

Population (City)	56,987
Foreign Born (City)	24,257
Foreign Born (Canada-French and Newfoundland)	13,429
Foreign Born (Canada-English and Newfoundland)	1,697
Foreign Born (France)	53

Footnotes

1. J. Laflamme, «The French Catholics in the United States,» *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1907, p. 277.

2. The above information comes from the Language Resources Project; «French in New England -- A Socio-Historical Portrait» by H. Lemaire for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1963.

3. E. Hamon, S. J., *Les Canadiens-Français de la Nouvelle-Angleterre*, (Québec, 1891), pp. 3 and 4.

4. «L'Abeille,» Séminaire de Québec, 1849, p. 4.

5. *French Canadian Influence in Manchester Before 1891*. A dissertation by Wilfred Paradis, St. Anselm's College, 1949, p. 25.

6. Jacques Ducharme, *The Shadows of the Trees*, (New York; Harper and Brothers, 1943), p. 160.

7. Jacques Ducharme, *op. cit.* pp. 38-9.

8. *Ibid*. p. 59.

9. Emile Tardivel, *Guide Canadien-Français de Manchester, NH*. (Manchester, 1895), p. 267.

10. Sr Florence Marie Chevalier, *The Franco-Americans of New England*. An unpublished Ph. D. dissertation (Catholic University, Washington, D. C., 1972), p. 241.

11. *The Saturday Evening Post*, Oct. 31, 1936.

12. A. N. Belcourt, *The French-Canadians Outside Quebec*. (Philadelphia, 1923), p. 7.

13. Jacques Ducharme, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-31.

14. Jacques Ducharme, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-39.

15. Herve B. Lemaire, *The Franco-Americans in New England*. An unpublished manuscript prepared for the Language Resource Project of the Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1963, p. 7. (From the section on «General Comments»).

16. With the exception of the last two paragraphs, the information presented below is based on a personal interview with Mr. Gérald Robert, president of the A.C.A.

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A HISTORY OF FRANCO-AMERICAN JOURNALISM

by

Paul Paré

Franco-Americans founded parishes, schools, mutual societies and newspapers - not necessarily in that order. If one were to determine which of these outgrowths of the Franco-American immigration into New England exercised the most lasting influence, it would be difficult to choose. Certainly journalism contributed as much as the others; in numbers alone, newspapers testify to the lasting presence of Franco-Americans in this country.

Franco-American journalism has retained one overriding characteristic in its 130 years of existence: its militancy. From the start its publishers, editors, and writers used their newspapers not only to instruct but to combat. The battle was fought against the English in Canada, against the Americans and Irish assimilators in the United States, against those Franco-Americans who gave in, and in some cases against their very own Church leaders.

Often, too often, Franco-Americans involved in the newspaper field fought amongst themselves on a wide range of issues involving Franco-American life. It hasn't been uncommon to see a newspaper take on a point of view simply because a certain other paper had espoused a different point of view. Bitter feuds developed between editors and they lasted for years.

It was a journalism of ideas more than a journalism of communication and information. In that sense it can be said Franco-American journalism never grew up.

Franco-American journalistic efforts are impressive. Francos founded close to 250 newspapers starting in 1839. Maine has had twenty-one. Journalism constitutes the bulk of Franco-American literature and those Francos who did some writing, either fiction, poetry, or historical works, were nearly all involved in some way with a newspaper. Franco-American leaders were nearly always either clergmen or journalists. Most of the time they complemented each other, working hand in hand. Sometimes, one failed and the other took over; and, in some cases there was open disagreement between the two.

Most newspapers lasted a short time but a small number survived for long periods and became highly competitive with their English-language counterparts. Although most Franco-American publishers and newspaper people starved to death, a few acquired themselves a fortune.

If the word «survivance» has meant anything to Franco-Americans over the years, it is thanks to their newspapers.

With these general statements out of the way, let's take a look at a brief history of this unique brand of journalism. First, let me say that my sources have been Alexandre Belisle's *Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américaine* written in 1911, Robert Rumilly's *Histoire des Franco-Américains* written in 1958, R.J. Lawton's *Franco-Americans of Maine* published in Lewiston in 1915, a few other works, and my own interviews with persons involved with Maine's French-language newspapers.

The first newspaper which can be called Franco-American by the fact that it was published in the United States and aimed at an American as well as Canadian readership is *Le Patriote Canadien.* It was a weekly, the first issue appearing in Burlington, Vermont, in August of 1839.

It was born in the midst of an aborted revolt. Its publisher-editor, Ludger Duvernay, was a frustrated *patriote* who along with a small band of French-Canadians attempted to free themselves from what they considered tyranny on the part of the English in Canada in 1837.

A few bloody battles in the Richelieu Valley resulted in defeat for the French *patriotes.* Those who weren't killed in battle or executed afterwards were deported to Australia. Those who managed to escape found refuge in the United States from Maine to Illinois. One of them, Robert Shore-Milnes Bouchette, who published a newspaper in Québec City prior to the 1837 incident, made his way to Portland. What he did after that is not known.

In founding his newspaper, Duvernay wrote the following prospectus: «Nous n'aurons aucun ménagement pour personne. Nous dénocerons tous les coupables sans exceptions et sans égards...» With these words he set the tone not only for his own publication but for most of the Franco-American publications which were to follow.

Le Patriote Canadien had subscribers in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Dubuque, St. Louis, Detroit, Milwaukee, Chicago, New Orleans, Rochester, Buffalo, Albany, and many other American cities. This testifies to the fact that the *patriotes* of 1837 had found refuge in a large number of places. The newspaper, however, was banned in Canada and that contributed to its demise.

Le Patriote Canadien was bilingual. Duvernay sought the aid of Americans in fighting the English Canadians - an assistance which never materialized. The paper was also anti-clerical at times, the *patriotes* having blamed the Québec clergy for the failure of the 1837 revolt.

Duvernay's paper was published for only six months. In that, it also led the way for future Franco-American publications.

In 1842, Canada declared amnesty for the 1837 exilées. Most of them returned to the homeland including Duvernay who went on to found La Société Saint Jean-Baptiste de Montréal. Duvernay's life is an interesting one. He played an important role in Canadian history, having served in Parliament, having been a leader in the Conservative Party, having been arrested and jailed repeatedly for his anti-English views. The maple leaf as symbol of Canada was his idea.

Those patriotes of 1837 who stayed behind were to be joined years later by the full-scale immigration of French-Canadians into New England. These were not seeking political asylum but economic relief by leaving their country. One would not have discovered this from their newspapers, however, since they were as politically and issue motivated as was Duvernay's publication.

Much could be said at this point about Franco-Americans in the American midwest and their newspapers. A few commentaries will be enough for the purpose of this class.

In 1871 Chicago had 20,000 Franco-Americans, several French parishes, societies, and a few newspapers including *L'Amérique* founded by Louis Fréchette among others. Fréchette is one of French-Canada's best known poets.

This newspaper became involved in the election campaign in 1868 won by Ulysses S. Grant. Fréchette who was self-exiled to Chicago after his own political failures in Québec, wrote up the campaign and participated editorially in behalf of Grant's candidacy.

Not only Chicago but many cities in the Midwest had sizeable Franco-American populations and along with them a good number of French-language newspapers. Michigan had 16 newspapers, Illinois had 12, Minnesota had 10, and Wisconsin had one.

Very few lasted for any consequential period of time. In 1910 there were only two left: *L'Echo de l'Ouest* of Minneapolis, Minn., a weekly, and *Le Courrier Franco-Américain* of Chicago which was printed oddly enough in Fall River, Mass. This, by the way, was not uncommon. The costs of printing often forced smaller newspapers to give up their own printing plants. The healthier newspapers assumed the printing and by so doing were able to better survive themselves. Many of the large newspapers also turned to publishing books as an added source of revenues.

Back in the eastern part of the United States, a few newspapers appeared in New York and Vermont around 1867. *Le Protecteur Canadien* founded by a merchant by the name of Antoine Moussette and a priest named Zéphirin Druon at St. Albans, Vt., in 1867 was the first lasting Franco-American newspaper.

It played a major role in making Canada aware of the Franco-American fact and was responsible for bringing French-Canadian priests to New England parishes to serve their fellow Catholics. The name itself, *Protecteur Canadien* implied a certain militancy: here was something to protect, something to defend. The paper lasted slightly more than three years.

The father of Franco-American journalism is Ferdinand Gagnon. Before his arrival, most Franco-American publications were feeble attempts with the possible exception of *Le Protecteur Canadien*.

Gagnon was born at St. Hyacinthe, Québec, in 1849. He was destined to become a lawyer but decided to cut short his studies and immigrate to the United States at the age of 18. He settled in Concord, N.H.

In 1869, Gagnon moved to Manchester, N.H. where he founded with Dr. A.L. Tremblay (Franco-American historical works for some bizarre reason very often refer to people by their first initials instead of by full names.) *La Voix du Peuple*. This paper lasted seven months. When Gagnon moved to Worcester, Mass., in September of the same year, the paper folded.

Gagnon, up until that time, had doubts about the strength of the French-Canadian immigration to New England. He thought it was a temporary self-imposed exile, not a permanent exodus. In the spring of 1869, however, he witnessed in Worcester the celebration of «la Saint Jean-Baptiste», the traditional French-Canadian and by extension Franco-American feast day which falls on June 24th, and was so impressed that he became convinced that Franco-Americans were here to stay.

In Worcester, he founded *L'Etendard National*, at the age of 20 with the help of a corporation composed of the early leaders of this Franco-American city. His newspaper was bought out in 1876 by a Montréal newspaper, *L'Opinion Publique* which published *L'Etendard National* as a special New England edition.

Three years later, Gagnon joined with Frédéric Houde who had written for *Le Protecteur Canadien*, of St. Albans, in launching a new paper, *Le Foyer Canadien*. Some 18 months later, in 1874, Gagnon sold out to Houde to start his own newspaper *Le Travailleur*, which he directed for 12 years until his death at a young age of thirty-seven.

As publisher and editor of *Le Travailleur*, Gagnon became the leading spokesman of Franco-Americans. Through his newspapers and his numerous speaking engagements, he molded public opinion in the eastern part of the United States and in Canada.

At this time, French Canadian opinion was not exactly favorable to Franco-Americans. It was popular to paint a dark picture of Franco-American life in New England's mill cities. «Les émigrés vont chercher le chagrin et la misère sur la prétendue terre de la liberté,» wrote one French Canadian journalist.

Gagnon, by his person and his publications, first *Le Foyer Canadien* and later *Le Travailleur* was instrumental in fighting these attitudes.

Gradually other newspapers were started in New England. Alexandre Bélisle's *Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américaine* mentions ten newspapers in 1874. Robert Rumilly in his book *Histoire des Franco-Américains* mentions seven existing at that time. These were mostly in Massachusetts, Vermont and in the Midwest.

The issues were not lacking. One of them involved Louis Riel who was half French and half Indian, and led a revolt of the *métis* in Western Canada against the English authorities. His trial, once apprehended, led to considerable controversy, both in Canada and in New England with newspapers jumping into fight almost gleefully.

Riel made a visit to Worcester in 1874 where he met with Ferdinand Gagnon and Frédéric Houde. Immediately the Franco-American press took sides, condemning Riel and his associates on one hand and hailing him as a hero on the other.

Newspapers also devoted column space to argue the merits of the benevolent mutual societies. Gagnon deplored the fact that the annual meetings of these societies were emphasizing the insurance aspects of the societies and neglecting the fraternal calling of the founding fathers.

Here we see the great split in Franco-American societies which reached its peak later in the twentieth century. Of course, newspapers took sides in the debate.

The division which began at this time developed between l'Union Saint Jean-Baptiste on one side and l'Association Canado-Américaine on the other. In broad terms, l'Union believed that cooperation with the Irish bishops was the best way to avoid their assimilative wrath while l'Association Canado-Américaine preached resistance to the Irish assimilators among the clergy and bishops from the start. In later years, l'Union tried to establish closer ties with France while l'Association believed Franco-American ties should be strengthened with Québec instead.

Newspapers throughout New England took sides and the battle at times raged fiercely on the pages of the Franco-American press.

Back in the late 1870's, hard times hit New England with the textile industry being seriously affected by the economic recession. Labor strikes also made their appearances at this time in history.

Canadian authorities thought the time was ripe to launch an effort to attract the Franco-Americans back to Québec. Farmlands near the Maine and New Hampshire borders were set aside for returning Francos. The Canadian government named Ferdinand Gagnon as *agent de repatriement*.

Although in appearance a contradiction, Gagnon's repatriation effort and his firm Franco-Americanism worked hand in hand. He merely saw repatriation as a choice for Franco-Americans who had become disillusioned. He also saw it as a method of helping his homeland, Québec, reclaim some of its former sons and daughters.

Other Franco-American journalists didn't see it his way, notably the editor of the *Jean-Baptiste* a newspaper in Northampton, Massachusetts. A journalistic debate began on the merits of repatriation, some newspapers calling those Francos who returned to Québec traitors while other papers used the same epithet to describe those Francos who remained in New England.

The issue started a bitter feud between two Fall River newspapers, *L'Echo du Canada* and *L'Ouvrier Canadien*. The feud lasted long after the repatriation issue had died. Repatriation apparently caused more ink to flow than it did anything else. It was almost a total failure with only a small number of persons opting for the return to Québec.

Not only did the ink flow freely concerning issues but personalities became entangled in the polemics also. Honoré Beaugrand who published *La République* at Fall River in 1878 referred to Ferdinand Gagnon as *croquemitaine Gagnon* while Gagnon accused Beaugrand who wasn't without his anticlerical moments of being a freemason and a Wandering Jew – all of this in print.

There was, however, one issue on which everyone agreed: naturalization. All of the newspapers recommended that the immigrants become American citizens. Gagnon prescribed naturalization for those who chose to stay. «The Yankees will always have the money, but we'll take over in politics,» was the naturalization slogan. Once naturalized, the Francos started looking around for a political party to join.

At first unfamiliar with American politics, they sheepishly followed their bosses into the Republican Party, the party which advocated tariffs on foreign trade. The Republican Party, therefore, was good for the Franco-American workers, so the industrialists said.

Those who looked to the Democratic Party found the door closed, anyway, that party being controlled by the Irish who were not about to give up any of their newly acquired territory.

The Republicans became increasingly pro-American and anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic with the years and the majority of the Franco-Americans left the GOP at the urging of their newspapers including Ferdinand Gagnon's *Le Travailleur*. Some newspapers remained faithful to the Republican Party, especially in Rhode Island, and here was something else to fight about.

Up to now, I've used the word Franco-American but most of the people I've spoken of preferred to call themselves French-Canadians even though they lived in this country for years and for the most part were American citizens. This dual loyalty is inconceivable today but then it made perfect sense.

In 1873, the state of Missouri elected a Franco-American to the U.S. Senate, Louis-Vital-Bogy. He used to say: «Je suis Canadien-Français, et j'en suis fier; je suis catholique et j'en remercie Dieu; je suis aussi citoyen de cette république, et j'en suis heureux.»

As the flow of immigration took on the proportions of a tidal wave, newspapers popped up here and there throughout New England. Increasing in scope also at this time was the resentment of the Yankees and the Irish who saw their domains being invaded by the French-Canadians. This served to unify the Franco-American press which by this time could boast of about twenty periodicals.

All Franco editors and publishers agreed that Franco-Americans are entitled to their rightful place in American life.

«Les Chinois de l'Est» is probably the best known incident of Yankee bigotry at this period but only one of many which illustrates the anti-Franco feelings.

Although it was felt Francos deserved a place in the great American society, that did not mean that rightful place had to be gained by paying the price of assimilation. The word «survivance» increasingly became the slogan of Franco-American newspaper people.

Writer after writer deplored the fact that Franco-Americans were losing ground in the struggle against assimilation. The Francos were losing command of the French language and the greatest assaults against the language were being made in the churches and the greatest enemies of the language turned out to be the Irish bishops and the Irish clergy, so it was felt in many Franco circles.

Early in the immigration, the bishops could easily obtain French-Canadian priests who were willing to shepherd the Franco-American flock. But as the immigrants increased in number, Canadian priests willing to immigrate with them became scarce.

Franco-Americans, however, kept demanding their own parishes and their own priests. The newspapers repeated these demands with regular insistence and whenever a bishop would refuse or whenever he would appoint a French or Belgian priest instead, the newspapers embarked on a holy crusade to preserve the language and the faith, and in that order since everyone subscribed to the slogan: «Qui perd sa langue perd sa foi.»

The first incident or «affaire» took place in Millbury, Conn., then came Fall River, Northampton, Detroit, Ware, Salem, Danielson, etc. The scenario is the same: A parish with a majority of Franco-Americans wants a Franco-American priest; the bishop, almost always an Irishman, refuses; the parishioners go on strike, refusing to contribute financially and in some cases refusing to participate spiritually in parish life; the appeal is then made to Rome which ignores the plea of the Franco-Americans; after some time, the bishop gives in and appoints a Franco-American priest, or the parishioners give in and accept the Irish priest.

The newspapers play a multiple role in all of this. At first, all cry out in indignation over the bishop's refusal, but as the going gets rougher and some parishioners begin taking drastic measures, some of the newspapers start saying that perhaps some parishioners are going too far. Other newspapers respond by asking if the publications calling for restraint are traitors. And so the debate goes on between journalists, the real issue sometimes being delegated to the background and obscured by rhetoric.

The controversies aren't limited to one locality. All of New England follows the latest developments through its Franco-American press. The newspapers taking part in these issues at the end of the last century were:

Le Messager, Lewiston, Maine
L'Indépendant, Fall River, Mass.
Le Courrier, Manchester, N.H.
La Patrie, Cohoes, N.Y.
La Justice, Biddeford, Maine
Le Citoyen, Fall River, Mass.
Le Défenseur, Holyoke, Mass.
Le National, Plattsburg, N.Y.
Le Travailleur, Worcester, Mass.,
(which continued to be published under the same name after Gagnon's death).

There were other newspapers but these were the major ones. These newspapers were not all on solid financial ground. Many changed hands frequently, some ceased publication only to resume a few months later, when a new source of funds had been found.

The two strongest papers at this time were *Le Messager* and *Le Travailleur*. Not only were they financially sound but both had large circulations beyond their respective areas and they also enjoyed a good reputation. By the way, exact circulation figures are extremely hard to document.

Despite their differences, the editors and publishers of all these papers met in 1887 for the second time and organized the *Association des Membres de la Presse Canadienne-Française des Etats-Unis*. Note the word *Canadienne-Française*. In later years the organization changed that to *Franco-Américaine*.

Le National founded by Benjamin Lenthier in Plattsburg, N.Y. and later moved to Lowell, Mass. in 1890 became the first successful daily Franco-American newspaper. All other papers were either weeklies or bi-weeklies. *Le National* also boasted the most modern and complete printing plant. This newspaper also had editions for Fall River and Manchester. Lenthier also purchased *Le Travailleur*, Ferdinand Gagnon's old paper. He bought *Le Courrier* of Worcester, *L'Indépendance* of Lowell, and *Le Bourdon* of Fall River.

Besides the purchases, Lenthier founded the following publications: *Le Protecteur Canadien* in Fall River, borrowing the name of the older St. Albans paper which had ceased publication several years earlier; *Le Canado-Américain* of Holyoke, *Le Foyer Canadien* of Woonsocket, *Le Guide du Peuple* of Haverhill, *Le Drapeau National* of Lowell, *Le Jean-Baptiste* of Cohoes, N.Y. and *Le Courrier du Connecticut*. In all Lenthier by the early 1890's controlled 16 newspapers.

The presidential campaign of 1892, which saw the election of Grover Cleveland, a Democrat, accounted for much of this journalistic growth at the time. Lenthier campaigned heavily for Cleveland and made good use of his papers. The Democratic Party, seeing in the Francos a potentially large voting bloc, also made good use of his papers.

The election fever had an effect on other Franco-American newspapermen. Lenthier's *Le National* was joined by *L'Etoile* of Lowell and by *L'Indépendant* of Fall River as daily newspapers.

This era was truly one of the few during which it can be said that Franco-American journalism really prospered. The success was mostly due to the unprecedented interest in the Francos displayed by the American political parties. After the election, however, advertising revenues declined along with the political fervor and Franco newspapers found themselves unable to continue at the same pace. One by one, Lenthier's papers closed down including *Le Travailleur*, originally Ferdinand Gagnon's paper.

According to L.A. Biron who worked for Lenthier in Worcester, Lenthier was a «promoter». Biron was quoted as saying: «He must have made thousands, the money paid by the Democratic Party. After the 1892 election, he went West...» Biron went on to found *L'Impartial* in Nashua, N.H., in 1898, a newspaper which lived on until the early 1960's.

The high number of Franco-American newspapers in a single city during this period and in the years until the mid-twentieth century is not unusual. Over the years, Manchester has had a total of 36 newspapers, not all publishing at the same time, of course; Lowell has had 24; and Fall River has seen 22 newspapers come and go, to name a few Franco-American cities.

Newspapers were the only representatives of what we now refer to as the news media. They were also one of the few sources of entertainment.

It cost relatively little to start a newspaper. Keeping it going was the problem.

Those Franco-American publishers who had their own printing plants found it advantageous to keep the presses running as many hours of the day as possible. Why not print another newspaper? Another edition? The major capital expenditure had already been made and another publication would only mean added revenues. Thus went the logic which led to this proliferation of newspapers throughout New England.

In the mid-1890's, the wave of French Canadian immigrants was reduced to a trickle due to improved economic conditions in Canada and a renewed interest on the part of the Canadian government in keeping its citizens home. New frontiers were opened up in western Québec and the Lac St. Jean region, the government making it very attractive for the French Canadian to emigrate there instead of to New England. Farming had been re-instituted as an honorable profession.

Despite the smaller flow of French Canadians to New England cities, news of Québec still attracted attention in Franco-American areas and almost as much passionate ink flowed in Franco-American journals during this especially lively political period in Québec as did during the early years of immigration.

Franco-Americans in Maine, although somewhat isolated from the mainstream of Franco activity in the remainder of New England, nevertheless participated in the great Franco pastime of founding newspapers. Over the years, Maine has seen 22 French language newspapers come and go. Biddeford has had nine Franco papers and Lewiston six. Augusta, Van Buren and Sanford have given birth to one each, while Waterville produced two.

The first Franco-American newspaper in Maine appeared in Biddeford in May of 1870, two years after *Le Protecteur Canadien* of St. Albans, and four years before Ferdinand Gagnon's *Le Travailleur*.

The Biddeford paper was named *L'Emigré Canadien* and was published by Léon Bossue dit Lyonnais who at the age of 14 started his journalistic career by publishing a paper in Québec City. In his lifetime, he either founded or was associated with a total of 12 newspapers (some of them in English) in New England, and New York State and in Québec. His Biddeford paper, started relatively early in his career, was a weekly. It lived six weeks.

The second was *Le Messager* of Lewiston which was the oldest Franco-American newspaper in existence when it died in 1968, having been published continuously for 88 years. The story of *Le Messager* will come later.

The year 1880 saw the start of two newspapers in the state. *Le Messager* in March and *Le Cri d'Alarme* in November. The latter was published in Biddeford by James Smith and is presumed to have been a Protestant newspaper. It lived only a short time and very little is known about it.

Next was *Le Courrier de Lewiston* published in Lewiston in January of 1885 by Emile H. Tardivel who had been associated earlier with *Le Messager. Le Courrier de Lewiston* lasted no longer than a few weeks.

Tardivel later in life turned to politics and the practice of law. He was elected to the New Hampshire legislature and at one time worked with a Boston law firm.

Urbain Ledoux was involved with three newspapers in Biddeford which appeared in rapid succession between 1893 and 1895. A self-made man, Ledoux was born in Canada of parents who had immigrated to the United States during the Civil War and who had returned to Québec in 1872. Three years later the Ledoux family moved to Biddeford. Urbain was one year old. Part of his education was obtained at the «Collège Sainte-Marie» in Van Buren.

At the age of 17, he founded *L'Indépendance* in Biddeford. That was in 1893 which is when Lenthier's journalistic empire started to crumble in southern New England. Some authors say that Ledoux' paper lasted only a few weeks, others that it was published for two years. In any event, two years later, he was writing for another Biddeford paper *L'Observateur* which was founded by J.S. Bourdon and Alfred Bonneau. *L'Observateur* lasted three years.

After leaving this paper, Ledoux founded a magazine named *Le Figaro Illustré* in 1895 which featured humor and large engravings. Alexandre Belisle in his *Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américaine* calls it a very attractive magazine. The first issue appeared in December and that was also the last. He then worked for newspapers in Montreal and Woonsocket and later became active in politics.

In 1897 at the age of 22, he became the youngest member of the United States diplomatic corps when named to the American consulate at Trois-Rivières, Québec. At 29, he was named consul in Bordeaux, France. After that his life is unknown since his only biography was printed in 1919. Obituary details might be available by further researching the newspapers in Biddeford.

Biddeford also saw *L'Ouvrier Canadien* in 1895. Some sources say it was called *L'Ouvrier Catholique*. It was published by a corporation known as Primeau and Haswell and the paper had Philippe Masson as editor. This paper appeared for about one year.

A very colorful figure who lived only briefly in Maine at this time was Jean-Baptiste Rouillard. In 1896, he was living in Biddeford where he launched *L'Amérique*, the state's first French-language daily newspaper. It lasted only a few months since in December of the same year Rouillard moved to Lewiston where he founded a weekly *La République*. This one was also destined to have a life span of only a few months.

Rouillard became well known in other parts of New England where he was a journalist and political eccentric. An entire chapter could be written about Rouillard who served in the Civil War and later preached his dream of independence for Québec. He was probably the first separatist.

In 1897, a Waterville doctor by the name of Avila O. Boulay founded a weekly with the name of *La Sentinelle*. which lived about a year. Dr. Boulay later moved to Van Buren where he wrote for *Le Journal du Madawaska* which was born in 1902.

This northern Maine newspaper was published by a corporation and the business end of the newspaper was in the hands of Atty. Lévite Thibodeau. This man, with hardly any knowledge of the English language had enrolled at Ricker Classical Institute in Houlton and after graduation had apprenticed in a law office in Caribou. Thibodeau was the second French resident of the St. John Valley to be admitted to the Maine bar.

Le Journal du Madawaska did relatively well and publication continued until 1906. When it died, circulation was about 3,500.

One year before the Waterville paper was founded, Alfred Bonneau started *La Justice* in Biddeford. Bonneau's journalistic career started in Lowell, Mass. Later he moved to Biddeford, founding *L'Observateur* and then *La Justice*.

Bonneau was both proprietor and editor of his publication which along with *Le Messager* was the most influential in the state. Bonneau surprisingly was a staunch Republican, a fact which must not have worked in his favor in heavily Democratic Biddeford.

La Justice lasted nearly as long as *Le Messager*. Its life span was from 1896 to 1949.

Maine's best known Franco-American newspaper, *Le Messager*, was founded in 1880 by J.D. Montmarquet and Dr. Louis J. Martel. Montmarquet had previously worked with Ferdinand Gagnon on *Le Travailleur*, and Dr. Martel became known as another Ferdinand Gagnon and for some time was considered an official spokesman for all Franco-Americans in New England in the same way that Gagnon exerted his leadership in earlier years.

Dr. Martel not only founded a newspaper, he was instrumental in organizing St. Peter's Parish in its early years, in founding several fraternal and cultural societies and St. Mary's General Hospital, the state's first Catholic hospital. Dr. Martel served in the Maine legislature in 1889 and for several years was municipal physician in Lewiston. He died in 1899 at the age of 48.

Prior to that, in 1884, management of the newspaper was confided to a corporation which included besides Dr. Martel, Regis Provost, Pierre Provost, Louis Provost, and Hubert Delorme. That year the newspaper became a bi-weekly.

One of the earlier editors was L. Desaulniers who died in a rather dramatic way in 1887 when both he and his wife were poisoned as a result of a druggist's mistake.

After Dr. Martel died, the paper was purchased from the corporation by Jean-Baptiste Couture who remained publisher and editor until 1950.

For many years *Le Messager* was printed in a small wooden building on Lincoln Street near the canal where most Franco-

American stores were located in those days, in proximity to *Le P'tit Canada* and the large textile mills.

In 1909, the newspaper was moved to a new four-story brick building on Lisbon Street built by Couture. This is probably an indication that the newspaper had been a successful venture and the move further indicates that with prosperity Francos moved further away from their *P'tit Canada* and established themselves on an equal footing with their neighboring Anglo businessmen. The Couture family lived in the same building on the upper floors.

Jean-Baptiste Couture was born in Québec City in 1867, one of nineteen children. His father, Olivier Couture, was a school teacher at a time when this occupation was almost exclusively the domain of religious women and men. The younger Couture was apparently destined to be a teacher also since he studied at a normal school but later he learned the printer's trade at *L'Evènement* in Québec. He stayed there for five years and then moved to Lewiston.

At the age of 19, he started work at *Le Messager* apparently in the composing room. Five years later he had purchased the newspaper. His father-in-law, Narcisse Brunelle, a well-known and prosperous baker in town, might have loaned him the money to buy the paper.

When he became editor, Couture left the composing room in the hands of his brother-in-law, Arthur Brunelle, who worked for the newspaper for more than 25 years.

Jean-Baptiste Couture became the soul of *Le Messager*, his name being as well-known throughout Maine at the beginning of this century as was the name of his publication. His crusades against assimilation found adherents throughout the state. His followers were called «Couturistes.»

Le Messager along with its counterparts throughout New England were responsible for the contributions to Franco-American literature which do exist. It was the newspapers who inspired the writers, encouraged their work, gave them an outlet and published their writings. Most newspapers including *Le Messager* featured serialized stories of a romantic nature, many of them written by staff writers or by someone in the community with writing abilities. The stories were called *feuilletons*. One of the best-known *feuilleton* writers was Louis Tesson whose stories appeared in *Le Messager* and some Canadian publications. Among the ones he wrote for *Le Messager* were *«Une Idylle Acadienne»* and *«Le Sang Noir»*.

Le Messager published both on the pages of the newspaper and in book form several works of Lewiston Franco-Americans such as *La Jeune Franco-Américaine* by Alberte Gastonguay in 1909; *Au Fil de la vie* by Joseph A' Girouard in 1909 and *Fragments de Rêves* by the same author in 1933; *Canuck* by Camille Lessard in 1936; *Mémoires d'un Soldat Français de 1914 à 1919* by Jules Savarin and published in 1928.

Camille Lessard who wrote a novel entitled *Canuck* wrote for *Le Messager* under the pen name of Liane. For years *Le Messager* was the only Franco-American newspaper with a women's page or society page entitled *«Chez-Nous»* and written by Miss Lessard.

A native of Lac Mégantic, Miss Lessard was a school teacher who immigrated to Lewiston in 1904. She worked in the textile mills for four years and one day replied to an article which appeared in *Le Messager*. Jean-Baptiste Couture was so impressed with her letter that he offered to print a weekly column written by her. Her column was known as «*Les Chroniques du Mercredi*». Two years later she joined the staff on a permanent basis. She married and lived in California up until her death in 1972.

In 1911, Miss Lessard wrote about her literary beginnings at the request of Alexandre Belisle who was compiling his history of the Franco-American press. She wrote:

«L'encouragement donné à ma première composition m'ayant donné de la hardiesse je me mis à l'ouvrage et le soir de retour de la manufacture je passai des heures à écrire, rayer ou ajouter ce qui me semblait le plus convenable. Oh! la tâche fut rude et, quand je me relis aujourd'hui, que de fautes je trouve dans ces essais!

«Personne pour me diriger, trop pauvre pour poursuivre mes études ou faire l'acquisition de volumes qui m'auraient aidée, j'étais livrée à suivre mon imagination ou l'inspiration de ma petite cervelle.

«Et bien souvent mes faibles ailes se sont fermées et ma pauvre plume est allée se briser sur ma table, mais malgré tout, des encouragements ici et là me stimulant, je continuai à écrire, sans aucune rémuneration pour le seul plaisir d'écrire. J'aime tant ça!»

Another Lewiston newspaper, *Le Courrier du Maine* was founded in 1906. A weekly, it is said to have been inspired by the Dominican Fathers who served St. Peter's Parish.

At this time, the Dominicans were being accused in print of favoring the appointment of an Irish bishop to the see of Portland to replace Bishop O'Connell who had been named archbishop in Boston. *Le Messager* also charged the French Dominicans with having a superiority complex vis-à-vis their French-Canadian brethren and their Franco-American flock.

The Dominicans were also accused of having demolished the first St. Peter's Church and having started the construction of a new one at the same site in order to avoid having to build another church in «Little Canada» to serve the growing Franco population. *Le Messager* also claimed the Dominicans were more interested in building their monastery than in the construction of schools for Franco youths.

It's understandable that in the face of all this criticism the Dominicans wanted to defend themselves. They followed the habits of the times which dictated that if one didn't agree with a newspaper, one founded another newspaper to oppose it.

The Dominican *Courrier du Maine* was published by Henry F. Roy who was organist at St. Peter's Church. He later wrote a book about the controversy of the times entitled *Le Dernier Mot*, published in 1925. *Le Courrier du Maine* lasted as such for six months. The chronology of events which followed its demise are unclear. A short while later, it seems, those involved with *Le Courrier* started publication of *Le Petit Journal*, a Sunday paper, which some authors refer to as *Le Petit Courrier*.

The publishers of this newspaper also printed two French-language newspapers which made their appearance in 1911. *La Revue* was an Augusta newspaper edited by J.E. Croteau and a Waterville weekly by the same name was edited by Alfred Langlois. Both papers were printed in Lewiston and apparently did not last long.

During this period the influence of

French-Canadian newspapers in Maine, especially in Lewiston and Biddeford, was being felt, certainly to the disadvantage of the Franco-American press.

For example, Lewiston had a representative of *La Presse* of Montreal in the person of Gédéon Vallée, a local businessman. He worked for the Montreal paper from 1906 to 1910 and is credited with having obtained 2,000 subscribers during this time.

In later years, *La Presse* maintained a series of correspondents in Lewiston. One of those was Charlotte Michaud who served in that capacity for 25 years. Miss Michaud also worked for the Lewiston Evening Journal, and later for the Portland Press Herald. When hired by the Journal her assignment was to cover everything and anything pertaining to Franco-American life in Lewiston-Auburn, presumably to attract Franco readers from the French-language *Le Messager*.

Her father, Léonard Michaud, was a writer for *Le Messager* and the fact his daughter worked for the Journal must have made for an interesting family situation. Even today, Miss Michaud, who is now retired, is considered by some Francos as some sort of traitor for her work with the Journal, especially among those whose families were affiliated with *Le Messager*.

Léonard Michaud wrote a series of exposés or *«articles de fond»* for *Le Messager*. During the first World War, he wrote a series of articles under the title of *«Le Bombardier»*. This column traced the exploits of Franco-Americans serving in the U. S. Army in Europe.

Other persons affiliated with *Le Messager* and who left their mark during this period between 1900 and the early 1920's include:

Louis N. Gendreau who as a young man established a newspaper *L'Etoile de l'Est* in Coaticook, near Sherbrooke, Québec, and moved to Lewiston in 1897. He was the business manager for *Le Messager* a good number of years but was better known as a musician and trumpetist. He and others organized the St. Dominic Band and later the Fanfare Ste Cécile, and the Orphéon, a men's choral society.

Arthur Brunelle, Jean-Baptiste Couture's brother-in-law, mentioned earlier, who worked in the composing room for more than 25 years, was also an accomplished violinist and composer as well as a musical arranger.

Henry diVitry, who moved to Lewiston from France was one of the most literary of the writers affiliated with *Le Messager*. His stay was relatively brief.

Atty. François-Xavier Belleau, who served in the U.S. Diplomatic Corps and later in the Maine legislature, was never on the staff of the newspaper but contributed many articles.

Atty. P.X. Anger, a well-known civic leader, also contributed a number of articles for *Le Messager*.

Le Messager like its counterparts in other New England cities attracted a nucleus of a cultural elite either to its staff or as contributors. These were professional people, many of them musicians as well. It can be said that if Lewiston ever produced a true French culture both literary and musical, it is largely due to the presence of *Le Messager*.

The owner himself, Jean-Baptiste Couture, was not only a patron of the arts but a practitioner of many artistic pursuits. He founded «Le Club Musical et Littéraire» with the collaboration of other Franco civic leaders, he had a good singing voice, and staged and sang in many operas presented by the Club. In his spare time, he translated some of the Gilbert and Sullivan operettas into French.

He was an ardent *patriote* fighting with every stroke of his pen the assimilation of his fellow Franco-Americans. In this sense *Le Messager* was a crusading newspaper.

For many years the Franco-American press in Maine had no worst enemy than the Irish bishop of Portland. Like everywhere else, the Irish bishop's goal was to make the Church as acceptable as possible to the Americans. The Church, therefore, had to become as American as possible. That meant no national churches where a language other than English was spoken or preached, and no bilingual parochial schools.

Bishop William O'Connell decided in 1906 to divide the Waterville parish, St. François de Sales. The new parish thereby created included 1,150 Francos and 250 Irish Catholics but the Bishop ordered the new parish to be known as an Irish parish, and an English language parish.

Maine's two leading papers *La Justice* and *Le Messager* fought the Bishop's plan and won a partial victory when the Franco-Americans were allowed to remain with the older parish.

The same year, 1906, Bishop O'Connell was sent to Boston where he later became Cardinal. Maine's Franco-American press started a campaign to have a Franco-American named then next bishop of Portland. They favored Rev. Narcisse Charland of Waterville or Msgr. F.X. Trudel of Old Town. The Francos lost. Rome elevated Louis S. Walsh to the see of Portland. Maine at the time had 80,000 Franco-American Catholics and 35,000 Irish Catholics.

One of Walsh's first acts was to circulate a petition in protest of the spoliation of churches in France. The petition sent to be distributed among Franco-Americans was written in English. *Le Messager* wrote that the incident was only a sample of things to come.

Franco-Americans throughout New England and their newspapers got their wish in 1907 when Georges Guertin was named bishop of Manchester, N.H. The Franco-American press was jubilant.

Bishop Walsh, however, gave the Maine newspapers less joy. In Waterville, he forced 1,200 Franco-Americans to join the new Irish parish created by his predecessor. The Francos refused to change parish, vowing to forever remain faithful to their original parish and never to set foot in Sacred Heart Church. Bishop Walsh also placed restrictions on the use of French in parochial schools.

Gradually, Walsh named Irish pastors to parishes founded by Franco-Americans where Francos were still in the majority. This was the case in Dexter, Caribou, Farmington, South Brewer, Orono, South Berwick and Sanford. Each time this occurred, Franco-American leaders protested in print with article after article, editorial after editorial, but the bishop still had his way.

In 1907, Waterville hosted a convention of Maine's Franco-Americans. A total of 10,000 persons participated. The rhetoric was inflammatory. Parallels were drawn between the situation in Maine then and in

Québec in 1837. Walsh wasn't intimidated. New incidents flared up in Lewiston, Biddeford, Waterville and in Skowhegan where he prevented the opening of a French parochial school.

A peak was reached during the Corporation Sole controversy which started in 1909 and dragged on for several years. Entire books could be written about the controversy. Briefly this is what happened:

Maine law made all Catholic Church property in the state the personal property of the bishop of Portland. What that meant was that the bishop could take some Franco-American funds or an institution built by Franco-Americans and turn it over to the Irish.

Franco-Americans formed *«Le Comité Permanent de la Cause Nationale»*. The purpose was to have repealed the Corporation Sole Law passed in the late 1880's.

Godfroy Dupré, a Biddeford lawyer, prepared a bill to be introduced in the Maine Legislature replacing the Corporation Sole with the parish corporation. The latter would place church properties in the hands of the corporations formed by each parish. The bishop was obviously opposed.

Jean-Baptiste Couture was elected to the legislature in 1909 to serve in the 1910 session. He was to sponsor the bill changing the Corporation Sole law. Both *Le Messager* and *La Justice* backed the new bill and both sponsored a statewide petition drive which produced 7,500 signatures in favor of the change.

Bishop Walsh himself testified when the bill reached the committee hearing stage along with two Maine bankers representing the Van Buren Banking Institution and the Maine Savings Bank. The bankers testified that the corporation sole set-up was a better credit risk.

The committee report was unanimous: ought not to pass. It was a defeat for the Franco-Americans of Maine.

The Francos retaliated by withholding their financial support from their parishes and another attempt was promised for the next session of the legislature.

Walsh responded by placing an interdict, a step in the process of excommunication, against the six members of *«Le Comité Permanent de la Cause Nationale»*. Included were Godfroy Dupré, Dr. Georges Précourt, Albert Beland, a merchant, Dr. Albert Maynard, Alfred Bonneau, editor of *La Justice*, all of Biddeford, and Jean-Baptiste Couture of Lewiston.

The news of the interdict was carried by every French-language paper in the United States and Canada. Some editors advised the group to give in to the bishop; others counseled that the battle be continued. Maine's papers, *Le Messager* and *La Justice* were united in their stand against Bishop Walsh.

In Waterville, Dr. J.L. Fortier who had supported the Franco-American campaign to change the Corporation Sole law, died and was denied a church funeral by Bishop Walsh. The only thing the bishop would permit was a brief service at the home of the deceased doctor. His widow was quoted as replying to the bishop's action with the following words: «Mon mari a fait sa vie sans l'évêque, il ira bien au ciel sans lui.»

Franco-Americans throughout New England became united against Walsh after this incident. Societies from all over paid for funeral masses for Dr. Fortier in other dioceses and a New England-wide fund was started for *Le Comité Permanent de la Cause Nationale.*

At this time, the Franco-American press throughout New England became anticlerical especially against the Oblates who preached submission to the bishop in retreats in northern Maine and the Marist Fathers who took over St. Jean-Baptiste Parish in Brunswick at this time.

Rome finally spoke on the matter in 1911 offering a compromise which was very similar to the corporation sole.

During the legislative session held in 1913, another bill abolishing the corporation sole was filed in Augusta. In the meantime the six members of the «*Comité*» were still under interdict.

A compromise came out of the committee offering a set-up still similar to the corporation sole except that laymen would be involved but they would be chosen by the clergy and the bishop. This passed, but the proposal was still a far cry from what the «*Comité*» had originally proposed. Today, the corporation sole still exists and the Bishop of Portland still owns most of the church property in the state.

The six members of the «*Comité*» which was disbanded because of a lack of funds, submitted to the bishop, one by one and the interdict was lifted. Only two refused to submit, Atty. Dupré and Jean-Baptiste Couture.

The incident although long and dragged out, served to strengthen the Franco-American newspapers in Maine. It gave their editors something to write about and it gave their readers something to talk about. Subscriptions increased and with them advertising revenue.

At least *Le Messager* became prosperous during the corporation sole controversy. This is when the newspaper was moved to new quarters on Lisbon Street. *La Justice* may not have been as prosperous since its editor Alfred Bonneau held on to a variety of other jobs including serving as agent for the Grand Trunk Railroad in Biddeford.

Although it is not documented it can be suspected that *Le Courrier du Maine* published by the Dominicans and the two *La Revue* papers in Augusta and Waterville which were born during the peak of the corporation sole controversy were founded to give the other side of the coin, to combat the influence of *La Justice* and *Le Messager.*

It probably wouldn't be fair to claim that the editors of the two leading papers, especially Jean-Baptiste Couture, prolonged the controversy in order to serve their own financial gains. But it can be said that the controvery and others which were to follow certainly did not hurt business.

As far as the newspaper situation in New England was at this time, 1910, there were seven dailies and 20 weeklies.

The start of World War I added a new dimension to Franco-American journalism. Anglo-Americans had acquired a new taste for tolerance for ethnic differences but this was quickly replaced as war broke out with a distrust of everything foreign especially newspapers printed in any language other than English.

A News service was formed in Washington with the help of federal dollars. It carried the name «Foreign Language for American Unity.» Although it served as a news service, historians have called the organization more of a propaganda machine and a method of surveillance of foreign-language newspapers. The federal government also named racial advisors during this period for each ethnic group including Franco-Americans.

Franco-American newspapers responded by doubling their efforts to prove their patriotism. Names of Francos serving in the armed forces were printed for everyone to see. The press was out to prove that the distrust on the part of the American government was unfounded.

For decades the immigrants had referred to themselves as Franco-Americans, and not French-Canadians as their fathers had. Most of them were naturalized citizens and an increasing number were natives of the American republic.

During the war and immediately thereafter there developed a tendency to fear bilingual education and attacks on the Franco-American parochial school system were common throughout New England. The Franco-American press devoted considerable column space for the defense of bilingual schools.

This battle was a losing one as state after state passed strict laws governing the teaching of content matter in languages other than English. The press, however, is credited with having delayed some of these measures and in some cases with having softened the tone of the new teaching laws. Only in recent years has the trend towards bilingual education developed as a favorable one.

The war ended but Anglo hostility towards the foreign language press did not. Organizations like the Daughters of the American Revolution and the League of Women Voters adopted resolutions declaring that there is room for only one language in the U.S., the language of the Declaration of Independence.

The New York Times, today known for its liberal point of view, immediately after the war, proposed that newspapers written in languages other than English not be allowed in U.S. Post Offices. By refusing them the right to use the country's mail service, the foreign-language papers would die, it was believed. Luckily, the plan never materialized, and the Franco-American press survived.

In 1923, the Franco-American press in Maine found itself with a brand new issue, a brand new controversy, again involving the Irish bishop of Portland.

That year, Bishop Walsh created a new parish in Lewiston, its population composed of Franco-Americans, 80 per cent, and other Catholics, mostly Irish, 20 per cent. Bishop Walsh named an Irish pastor and the new parish was to be known as Holy Cross.

The Franco parishioners wanted *Sainte-Croix* and had hoped for the eventual foundation of a bilingual parish school, hopes which vanished with the name Holy Cross. *Le Messager* agreed and another campaign was started by Jean-Baptiste Couture.

It should be noted here that during the long struggle to have the new parish known as a French one, the residents of Lewiston tried repeatedly to obtain support from L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique, but without success. As expected, *Le Messager* added the name of L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste to its list of enemies of the people, the Franco-American people, that is.

Louis-Philippe Gagné joined the staff of *Le Messager* at this time and began writing about the Sainte-Croix controversy. His name was to become with the years as closely linked to *Le Messager* as was Jean-Baptiste Couture's.

The controversy raged on and off until 1925 when Bishop John Murray was named to succeed Bishop Walsh who had died the previous year. Bishop Murray asked for some time to study the situation in Lewiston and promised to provide some remedies. *Le Messager* went along and started publishing articles proposing a «wait and see» attitude.

In 1926, Bishop Murray named Rev. J. Alfred René, a Franco-American, as pastor of Holy Cross and the bishop recognized the parish as a French one, approving the name Sainte-Croix. This was a major victory for the Franco-American press.

In the meantime a new crisis had developed in Rhode Island where the Irish bishop had started a drive for the construction of diocesan English-language high schools. He taxed each parish and since the Franco-American parishes weren't too fond of the idea and their commitments to the drive were the lowest, the Bishop started taking money from the individual Franco-American parish treasuries for his high school drive.

Franco-Americans rebelled, some of them filing civil suits against the bishop for taking the parish funds. The Diocese of Rhode Island did not have a corporation sole system and each parish treasury was independent of the bishop. The bishop responded by excommunicating the leaders.

This controversy, much simplified in the above paragraphs, was much more bitter than any seen up until then in New England. Not only did it place the Francos and the Irish bishop as antagonists but it created a severe split among the Franco-Americans.

A newspaper, *La Sentinelle* was founded in 1924 in order to do battle with the Irish bishop of Providence, Msgr. Hickey. *La Tribune* of Woonsocket sided with the bishop. Not only did a duel of words come about between the two newspapers as the controversy wore on but the two largest Franco-American mutual societies became involved.

L'Union Saint Jean-Baptiste, headquarted in Woonsocket, favored the bishop while l'Association Canado-Américaine, with headquarters in Manchester, N.H., sided with *La Sentinelle*. The Manchester-based society and the sympathizers with the views expressed in the pages of *La Sentinelle* became known as «*Sentinellistes*».

What also became involved here were the fundamental theories of each society. L'Union believed in the necessity of severing the ties with Canada while l'Association Canado-Américaine as its name implies favored strengthening those ties. Even after the Rhode Island controversy was over which wasn't really until the early 1930's, the differing opinions remained and the debate went on between the two societies.

As expected the Franco-American press took an active part in the debate and one of the most influential advocates of severing those ties with Canada was Georges Filteau of Lewiston who wrote for *Le Messager*.

Filteau had worked for *Le Petit Journal*, the successor of the Dominican-inspired *Le Courrier du Maine*. His tendencies were aimed more at submission to the ecclesiastical authorities and one must imagine his discomfort when his newspaper *Le Messager* attacked Bishop Walsh with such ardor.

During the Rhode Island controversy *Le Messager* remained remote and paid it very little attention. But as the debate arose between the two schools of thought as expressed by the mutual societies, Filteau's writings on the subject became widely read and widely respected.

Filteau deplored the excesses of what he called canadianism and fought against *«cette mentalité d'éxil»*. He wrote in *Le Messager* the following:

«En prêtant serment au drapeau étoilé, nous n'avons pas juré d'oublier notre langue, nos traditions ou notre foi, car on ne nous le demandait pas. Nous avons cependant pris l'engagement solennel de renoncer à tout attachement au Canada, une colonie de l'Angleterre, où nous ne voulions plus vivre.

«Nos anciens patriotes de 1880 sont grandement responsables de ce qui nous arrive aujourd'hui. Ils ont plus ou moins faussé notre mentalité et c'est grâce à eux si nous sommes encore, par le coeur, presque aussi Canadiens qu'Américains. Il est plus temps que jamais de changer notre mentalité et nous n'y arriverons qu'en renonçant radicalement au Canada, d'une manière morale autant que pratique.

«Cela ne nous empêchera pas de garder un respectueux souvenir de la patrie de nos ancêtres, et d'aller de temps en temps faire une pieuse visite là-bas.»

These words were written in 1924, they were the sentiments of a young Franco-American and they ushered in a new feeling which was quickly picked up by the younger generation of Francos.

It can be argued that when these words were written in a French-language newspaper in Lewiston, Maine, a newspaper which did not shy away from fighting for the rights of Franco-Americans, the Franco-American press had reached its maturity, it had declared its independence from the French-Canadian press which up until then offered no distinguishing differences.

This maturity was late in arriving considering that the *Patriote Canadien* of Ludger Duvernay first appeared in 1839. The Franco-American press in 1924, when Filteau wrote his declaration of independence, had only another thirty or so more years to go before it would start feeling the symptoms of an early death. Maybe the declaration of independence pronounced by Filteau and others precipitated the premature death.

In any event, Filteau attracted much attention to himself and a few years later, in 1930, when the officers of l'Union Saint Jean-Baptiste started looking for a new vice-president, Filteau's name was placed in nomination and he received the post. Filteau worked under Elie Vézina who for many years ruled over l'Union as a dictator. Under Filteau, l'Union was modernized considerably.

In 1931, Wilfred Beaulieu founded a newspaper in Worcester and named it *Le Travailleur* after the paper launched 57 years before that by Ferdinand Gagnon. Beaulieu's paper was a militant one. Having been involved personally in the Rhode Island controversy, Beaulieu promised to fight the first against assimilation. Gradually it became involved with French issues and causes, leaving aside Franco-American matters.

The paper still exists today as a bimonthly and Beaulieu writes a very intellectual commentary which is aimed more at an international readership than at a Franco-American one. It is the only Franco-American newspaper in existence today.

An incident in 1932 gave *Le Messager* an opportunity to regain some of its militant crusading aspects of an earlier age. During the state election that year the Democrats throughout Maine won heavily. The Republicans demanded an investigation into voting irregularities they alleged had taken place in Aroostook County among the Franco-Americans of the St. John River Valley.

Le Messager protested and promised in print: «Votants de langue française de l'Aroostook, vous serez vengés un jour ou l'autre de l'insulte que les républicains viennent de vous faire.»

The incident was used by the Democrats throughout New England and that year in the general election, it was clearly a Democratic victory and never before had Franco-Americans elected so many of their own to various governmental posts in all of the New England states.

The depression brought hard times to most Franco-American areas and among the first to suffer were the Franco newspapers. Many of them closed and the remainder saw themselves become weeklies and bi-monthlies in order to survive.

The exception was *Le Messager* which became a daily in 1934 with the Frenchman Henri diVitry as editor-in-chief and Louis-Philippe Gagné as news director. It can be said that during this time and during the years to follow until the early 1950's *Le Messager* was the strongest Franco newspaper, both financially and in the measure of its influence.

The paper was still owned by Jean-Baptiste Couture who remained greatly involved with its publication until his death in 1943 at the age of seventy-six. In the 1930's, *Le Messager* employed over twenty persons full-time and many part-time persons. Circulation reached over 7,000.

Couture was a man with vision and founded central Maine's first radio station, WCOU in Lewiston. Later his son, Faust, founded WFAU in Augusta, WLOB in Portland, and WGUY in Bangor.

After the elder Couture's death, Faust Couture and his brother, Valdore, took over the direction of the paper. In fact, the paper actually changed hands in 1941 when Faust bought it from his father, two years before the death of the elder Couture.

During World War II, Couture saw military service abroad and Valdore took over. It appears Valdore was not a very good businessman and the paper started losing money during the mid-1940's.

During the Second World War, another wave of ultra-patriotism swept the land and from Washington there came an organization known as the Common Council for American Unity. This was a sort of wire service aimed at providing news of the war to foreign-language newspapers including Franco-American papers.

Everywhere in Franco-American life, efforts are made once again to prove one's patriotism. Georges Filteau, formerly with *Le Messager* and now secretary general of l'Union Saint Jean-Baptiste was the first to preach patriotism.

During the war, the assimilation of Franco-Americans reached epidemic proportions and the first to suffer from the loss of a working knowledge of the French language were the newspapers. Although many still spoke French, the number of persons able to read French decreased with every year and every obituary.

In 1942, Rhode Island which had boasted of having dozens of Franco newspapers had none. There were only a handful left in all of New England. In 1943, *L'Etoile* of Lowell, one of the oldest Franco papers and one of the most influential, ceased as a daily and started appearing only three times a week.

L'Avenir National of Manchester, started appearing five days a week. *L'Impartial* of Nashua, N.H. became a bi-weekly. The only dailies were *Le Messager* of Lewiston and *L'Indépendant* of Fall River. In Maine, *La Justice* of Biddeford was a weekly and destined to die in 1949.

In 1950, the Couture brothers sold *Le Messager* to a corporation formed for the purpose of continuing the publication. The Couture brothers devoted their energies to the system of radio stations, known as the Lobster Network.

The corporation was headed by Atty. Edouard Beauchamp and Guy Ladouceur. Ladouceur was involved in the writing of the paper as well as in its production and hired a Montreal newspaperman, Jacques Fortin, as editor-in-chief. Fortin remained only a short time and returned to Canada.

The new corporation went at it in a big way. They subscribed to the United Press (later to become the UPI) which they translated and to a French-language wire service out of Québec for a brief period of time.

In 1953, the corporation launched an English-language Sunday paper, called the Androscoggin News which lasted only eleven months. That was long enough however to cause a financial drain which was to start the downfall of the paper.

In 1954, Beauchamp and Ladouceur were bought out and Roméo Boisvert became general manager. Ladouceur went to work for the Portland Guy-Gannett newspapers and for a while wrote a French-language column there.

Editor-in-chief was Louis-Philippe Gagné who became the paper's soul in much the same way Jean-Baptiste Couture used to be associated with it. Gagné wrote a column called «*L'Oeil*» and had a radio news commentary program on WCOU. He was one of the most astute political commentators of the day and displayed a great wit.

Both Boisvert and Gagné were involved in politics during this period. Gagné was mayor of Lewiston and Androscoggin County Commissioner while Boisvert served as mayor and in the Maine Senate from 1960 to 1970.

The paper became a weekly in 1957 as circulation dropped and the financial mistakes of the past started bearing fruit. Some of those mistakes included the ill-fated Sunday paper started in 1953 and the borrowing of large sums in 1954 to buy out the shares owned by Beauchamp and Ladouceur.

The only state-wide organization of Franco-Americans, «La Ligue des Sociétés

Franco-Américaines» founded in Lewiston in the early 1920's, became involved in the last years of *Le Messager*. It was instrumental in raising considerable amounts of capital among Francos throughout Maine to help *Le Messager* survive, but the amounts were never enough and many Francos lost a considerable sum in the venture.

In 1966, Boisvert and the corporation sold the paper to Albert Rowbotham of the Central Maine Press who published it for a few months. Roger Saucier was editor and Jean Gastonguay wrote copy which consisted mostly of translations. The last issue of *Le Messager* appeared in early 1967.

In the last years of *Le Messager*, the Messager Publishing Co., a subsidiary, was doing very well. It printed eight other newspapers, including a French language paper for Lawrence, Mass., another for Berlin, N.H., and *La Floride Française* as well as some English papers such as Maine Labor News. Rowbotham kept on printing some of these while others sought out new printing plants.

There were other Maine Franco-American papers which made brief appearances. Replacing *La Justice* in Biddeford when it died was a publication printed by Eugène Hamann who had been with *Le Messager* earlier. The name of his paper is not known to this author. Sanford also had a paper called *La Justice* in the 1940's and Waterville had a French language paper in the 1950's for a short time. New England wide, there were twenty papers in 1948. In 1963, the last meeting of «L'Alliance des Journaux Franco-Américains» was held. It had seven member newspapers and most were about to die.

After *Le Messager* closed in 1967, there was only one Franco paper, *Le Travailleur* published by Wilfred Beaulieu in Worcester. The paper has been concerned with news of France more than of New England or Québec for the past several years and calling it a Franco-American newspaper is stretching reality a bit.

And then, there was *Observations*, a bi-monthly bilingual newspaper published in Lewiston from June to December of 1972. The paper was owned by Caxton Publishing Inc. which included among its directors Donald Dugas of Lewiston, former director of the Lewiston Bilingual Program in the city's public school system. Editing the French part of *Observations* was Paul M. Paré who also wrote for the Lewiston Evening Journal. The editor of the English section was Sandra Shaw Wilhelm.

This paper did not owe its start to any fervor on the part of Franco-Americans. A group of liberal Anglos were interested in starting an alternative newspaper in the Lewiston-Auburn area and they felt that in order to be truly an alternative voice in the community, that voice had to be bilingual.

The French section of the paper was probably more militant than any other Franco-American newspaper had ever been. It criticized a number of institutions for not responding to the needs of Francos or for denying the rights of Franco-Americans.

The paper attempted to promote what could be called Franco culture, printing original works, recipes, local history, and articles in Franco-American French as opposed to standard French.

By its very nature, *Observations* was doomed to die from the start. The English part was very liberal, even radical, while the French part maintained a certain moderation through its militancy. The traditional and conservative Franco was reading an English section which offended him while the liberal Anglo was receiving a newspaper half of which was printed in a language he could not read.

The paper was aimed at a young readership and this created problems since the great majority of its Franco readers were not young. The younger generation of Francos, although vitally interested in things Franco, has lost for the most part the ability to read and write in French, while retaining an ability to understand and speak the language.

Observations was anachronistic in that it attempted to revive a militancy among a people who nearly unanimously believe that the period of discrimination and fanaticism on the part of Anglo-Americans is over.

The experiment which was *Observations* proved that among Francos in Maine there is a great thirst for a medium of communication, for something which is French. That medium may not necessarily be journalism.

Faust Couture recently stated in a conversation that he is convinced that the foreign-language newspaper in this country is dead. He added that if he were going to do anything French in the communications media today, he would do it on television.

Television does not require the ownership of the medium like a newspaper does; television has its audience already carved out; television is acquiring a social conscience; and air-time is currently available especially on educational television.

Getting back to the Franco-American press, however, it might be good to examine some of the causes of the decline in order to avoid repeating them.

Assimilation is the prime cause of this decline and the assimilation process was speeded up in the last two decades by television itself. With assimilation comes the loss of proficiency in French and with that the lack of interest in the foreign-language communications media. Of course, this is a vicious circle; without a foreign-language media, assimilation proceeds at a faster rate of speed and with assimilation disappears the need for a foreign-language media.

Throughout its history Franco-American journalism was bogged down in its elitist preoccupations. The journalists themselves and the intellectuals they were surrounded by belonged to a cultural elite and the newspapers reflected this.

French-Canadians are very class conscious and this trait was carried across the border into the United States during the immigration. Newspapers perpetuated this class consciousness.

Article after article dealt with the happenings and events affecting a small segment of the Franco population. There was hardly any popular news and the great working class masses were neglected.

Whether or not doctor so-and-so was decorated by the French government, whether or not this society and that society can get along and whether or not a certain parish had a French name or an English name, it didn't matter much to the vast majority of Francos who were lower class working people preoccupied with simply making a living.

The in-fighting between newspapers, between societies, between the Franco-American leaders and the Irish clergy, probably bored others who were turned off by the constant repetition of controversy after controversy.

Another factor which precipitated the decline was the myopic view of many publishers, editors, and writers who believed that simply because their product was in French it was good and therefore deserved the support of the Franco-American population.

Most Franco publications were of good quality but it was easy for Franco newspaper people to slip into a false sense of security simply because their writings were in French and therefore, it was felt, deserved the support of the Franco-American population.

Nevertheless, the Franco-American press has had no parallels among the many ethnic groups who chose the United States as their new home.

And if this brief work on the Franco-American press can be written today in 1973 and read with interest in 1973 some 134 years after *Le Patriote Canadien* was first printed in Burlington, Vt., it is largely due to generations of newspaper people who preached with every stroke of the pen that a people should not have to deny part of itself in order to be accepted into the mainstream of American life.

America has promised liberty to its immigrants. If it has delivered it to the Franco-Americans, it is thanks to their press which at times did not fear advocacy and militancy.

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BILINGUAL LIVING

by

Normand C. Dubé

Mr. and Mrs. Leblanc (a fictitious family) live in a New England community whose population is 40% Franco-American. They have three children.

At home, the parents often speak French amongst themselves. One can soon predict the topics of conversation: relatives, a trip, the weather, an anniversary, family activities or a homespun story. One can also predict the topics of conversation in English: work, purchases, state or national news or a chat with a stranger.

The three children, Marc, Suzanne and Colette speak French also. Yet, today, their conversations are often in English. Most of their linguistic experiences are in English: at school, at the theater, in stores, and in sports.

There are, however, situations when French is the language used for communication. One can soon surmise habits when selecting French or English in a conversation.

The Leblanc family is bilingual. Bilingualism is an important facet of the family culture in this community. Along with the language factor, the culture is also made up of other considerations, such as geography, economics and social living.

1. People's lives are influenced by two countries: the United States and Canada.

2. Traditionally, people were dependent, to a large extent, on the paper industry, lumbering, the potato crop, shoe factories, and small businesses, for their livelihood.

3. People live in communities where religious bonds (catholicism) are strong and where civic (Lions, Rotary, Jaycees, American Legion) and fraternal organizations (K.C., Daughters of Isabella, Club Richelieu) provide much of the Franco-American social experiences.

The Leblanc family is the prototype of this culture - that is, a way of life which is the result of the daily influences described.

A BILINGUAL EFFORT

Since approximately 1970, the families in this New England community have seen some changes occuring in their elementary schools. These changes stem from national and state efforts to adjust education to the child's environmental experiences.

But they are also the result of the willingness and interest of parents like the Leblancs, school administrators and teachers in wanting for their children an education based upon their «language preferences» and «cultural perceptions»: an Americanism which includes their ethnic identity.

One thought should be cleared at this point. The curriculum which existed six years ago is still being used. It had a good foundation. It has been modified, or supplemented, only in areas where language and cultural needs contribute to the educational benefit of the child.

Thus, where parents encouraged their child's learning, they still do. However, through meetings between parents and teachers, the assistance given the child is more specific: the purchase of magazines, the creation of cultural games or the participation of parents and students in planned trips outside of the immediate area.

Where the child learned colors and numbers, he still does. However, teachers now make conscious efforts to select examples familiar to student - bricks, a church, potatoes, a deer - rather than beginning with unfamiliar objects.

Where the child was exposed to valuable educational experiences, such as reading about George Washington, he still is. However, other experiences are selected whose values are geared to support the motivation of the child to learn and his pride in his own social behavior: reading about Ti-Jean or a journalist such as Ferdinand Gagnon.

A BILINGUAL PROGRAM

The bilingual program, begun in 1970 in the Leblanc community depends upon the effort of the whole population. At each level (parents, adminstrators, teachers and students) the different groups have had to give of their time and knowledge as defined by their role in the project.

The program, approved by clear-sighted administrators, had to be approved by the parents. The latter understood the implications of such an approval. They organized into an Advisory Council whose members represent the school system in the project.

The role of the parents is to respond to the purpose of the program, which is an education to help the students integrate into their American environment and still share in the legacy of their French heritage.

The Advisory Council, to this end, participates in the bilingual project by writing some of the bulletins, by giving a helping hand at some of the conferences and by gathering information for some of the research in the project.

The administrators, as mentioned before, were the first to support the program. They made the initial request to Washington; they selected a staff whose competence supported the needs of the project; and, they encouraged the participation of parents and teachers.

The administrators (3), 6 Board of Education members from the area, and one representative from a nearby college have the financial responsibility of the project. They can also approve or disapprove the program offerings as suggested by the staff.

The students contribute to the project by expressing their physical, intellectual and emotional needs. These needs are reflected in their behavior. The adult observer can evaluate their motivations, their interests and their social preferences through such activities as singing, speaking, dancing, counting or reading.

From the very beginning of the project, the teachers have demonstrated themselves to be devoted to their work. Their influence has been unique to the success of the program. Much of their time has been spent in workshops, courses offered and the development of materials made necessary because of the nature of the project. As illustrated on many occasions, the enthusiasm and the student-interest of the teachers seem to be limitless.

WORKSHOPS

The teachers, in order to be knowledgeable of current innovative trends or to focus on general topics of particular importance, took part in regional conferences. Here are a few examples of workshop topics made available to them:

A. Learning Centers
B. Modern Math
C. Behavioral Objectives
D. Social Studies
E. Bilingualism
F. The Teaching of English
G. The organization of a program in French

All of the workshops were part of the teachers' in-service training. The choices of topics for workshops were initiated by them.

COURSES

For six years now, the teachers have had an ongoing program of self-improvement. The desire to better understand their commitments to their students resulted in course offerings geared to their own professional development, to an understanding of some of the learning processes and to the structuring of bilingual curriculum in their schools.

Here are a few examples of the courses intended to meet these needs:

A. Specialized Education for the Bilingual Child
B. Acadian History
C. Learning Process in Education
D. French Composition
E. Contemporary Trends in American Education
F. Classroom Management in a Bilingual Classroom
G. Learning to read French
H. Integrating Content in the Bilingual Curriculum
I. Structuring Contemporary French Grammar in the Bilingual Class

The courses have given the teachers the necessary impetus to support their decision to introduce bilingual education in their classroom. They have also provided them with the stimulus to evaluate their curriculum, the resources available for instruction and the countless options of educational process from which to choose.

MATERIALS

The language orientation of the bilingual project required the definition of new educational objectives and the creation of new terms, games and activities to meet these objectives.

It was in this framework that the teachers committed themselves to the educational behavioral objectives found in the present teachers' guide. The objectives as in the sample below are those which have been integrated into the curriculum.

Les Mathématiques

Niveau 0	1	2	3	4	5	Les objectifs de comportement: maternelle - 5e année
X						Ordonner des objets de 1 à 10
	X					Ordonner des objets de 1 à 50.
	X					Décrire les symboles géométriques (cercle, carré, triangle).
		X				Ordonner des objets de 1 à 100.
			X			Décrire un objet d'après sa valeur monétaire, temporelle, spatiale, linéaire ou climatique.
				X		Décrire une distance ou un poids d'après le système métrique (mètre ou kilomètre, gramme ou kilogramme).
				X		Décrire une partie d'un tout en fraction (une moitié, un quart ou un tiers).
					X	Comparer deux phénomènes semblables en graphique.
		X				Les dimensions spatiales

Les Arts

X	X					Décrire un dessin.
X	X	X	X			Fabriquer un objet d'artisanat.
X						Démontrer une coordination physique.
	X	X				Décrire un objet d'après sa couleur.
	X					Créer une peinture originale.
		X				S'exprimer par la peinture d'illustration.
			X			Nommer les fournitures artistiques.
			X			Appliquer les concepts artistiques: dimension, proportion, perspective.
				X		Identifier des objets d'art de la région.
				X	X	Illustrer trois récits ou compositions.
				X	X	Créer la mise en scène pour 3 contes.
					X	Classifier des objets dans une des catégories suivantes: peinture, sculpture, modelage et architecture.

Les objectifs de comportement: maternelle - 5e année

La Musique
Niveau

0	1	2	3	4	5	
X	X	X	X	X	X	Chanter 7 ou 3 chansons.
X						Distinguer les notes basses/hautes.
X						Battre la mesure à 2 et à 4 temps.
	X	X				Démontrer le rythme de la musique.
	X	X				Interpréter la musique par le mime.
	X					Identifier une marche, une danse, une berceuse.
		X				Décrire une marche, une danse, une berceuse.
		X				Nommer des instruments de musique.
			X			Identifier les sons des instruments à cordes.
				X		Identifier les sons des instruments à vent.
					X	Identifier une fanfare, un orchestre «pop» et une symphonie.

Les Sciences Sociales

X						Raconter une histoire culturelle.
X	X					Décrire la fonction d'un objet.
X						Nommer les émotions.
	X	X				Décrire les activités dans une situation.
	X	X	X			Raconter l'histoire de l'Acadie.
			X			Décrire la géographie du Maine.
			X			Décrire les moyens de communication.
			X			Décrire un événement culturel.
			X			Résumer la lecture d'une biographie.
				X		Décrire des situations historiques, géographiques et sociologiques.
				X		Décrire la fonction scientifique de phénomenea étudiés.
				X		Comparer les ressemblances et les différences entre deux situations culturelles.
					X	Décrire un paysage humain et naturel.
					X	Associer un climat avec une région géographique.
					X	Distinguer une région urbaine d'une région rurale.
					X	Associer des situations économiques avec une région.
					X	Associer des situations politiques avec une région.
					X	Associer des situations sociales et culturelles avec une région.

Les Skills

Niveau						Les objectifs de comportement: maternelle - 5e année
0	1	2	3	4	5	
X						Démontrer les commandements donnés oralement.
X						Discerner les sons /a/e/i/o/u/
	X					Discerner les sons /a/e/i/o/u / /é/p/t/d/è /
		X				Discerner les sons /z/h/u/t/r/i / /d/g/s/on/ou/ch/
			X			Discerner les sons /a/au/di/tu/s/ /ai/oi/eu/k/
X						Nommer des objets et des lieux d'après des illustrations.
			X	X		Employer des mots dans une phrase orale.
					X	Définir les mots étudiés.
	X					Lire les mots étudiés.
		X				Associer une phrase avec une illustration.
			X			Lire les phrases à haute voix.
				X		Indiquer la compréhension d'une lecture.
					X	Interpréter l'intonation d'un texte.
	X					Copier les mots étudiés.
		X				Copier des mots dans une phrase.
			X			Ecrire des mots dans une dictée.
				X	X	Faire les accords grammaticaux étudiés.
					X	Ecrire une composition à 3 paragraphes.

The guide also includes suggested materials and activities to meet objectives. Many texts for both English and French were written. Other texts and audio-visual aids were purchased in the content of objectives to be taught. Below is a sample objective with suggested activities to meet that objective.

EXCERPT FROM THE FRENCH CURRICULUM GUIDE

L'Objectif de comportement en Mathématique à la cinquième année

Objectif: Comparaison en graphique

A la fin de l'année, l'élève pourra comparer un paysage naturel ou humain avec un autre qui a rapport à l'étude de l'Amérique du Nord de telle sorte qu'étant donné les statistiques d'un phénomène (économique ou social), il pourra le comparer avec un autre phénomène semblable en graphique. (Trois cas différents).

Activités suggérées

Activité no. 1:

Le professeur écrit au tableau ou sur un transparent un certain nombre de statistiques comme les suivantes:

Behavioral Objective in Mathematics for the fifth year

Objective: Graphic comparison

At the end of the year the student will be able to compare two sets of statistics which relate to a study of North America so that given statistics of a phenomenon (economic or social), he will be able to compare it with another similar phenomenon using graphs. (Three different cases).

Suggested Activities

Activity no. 1:

The teacher writes on the board or on a transparency a certain number of statistics like the following:

LA NOUVELLE-ANGLETERRE (NEW ENGLAND)

Nom de l'Etat (Name of State)	La Population (Population)
Connecticut	2,875,000
Maine	989,000
Massachusetts	5,383,000
New Hampshire	681,000
Rhode Island	898,000
Vermont	405,000

Source: Nouveau Petit Larousse, 1968.

L'élève doit observer que le tableau:

a) décrit un phénomène, c'est-à-dire, la population;

b) compare la population d'un état avec celle des autres;

c) définit les états comme étant ceux de la Nouvelle-Angleterre;

The student must be able to observe that the table:

a) describes a phenomenon, i.e., population;

b) compares the population of one state with that of the others;

c) defines the states as those of New England;

d) donne la source des renseignements.

D'après ce modèle, l'élève doit imiter le format du tableau. Il choisit une région géographique pour son enquête comme:

a) les provinces du Canada;

b) les six plus grandes villes de l'Amérique du Nord;

c) les six plus grandes villes dans l'état du Maine.

Activité no. 2:

L'élève reçoit une feuille sur laquelle est polycopié un graphique semblable au suivant:

d) gives the source of the information.

Using this model, the student must imitate the format of the table. He chooses a geographic region for his study, such as:

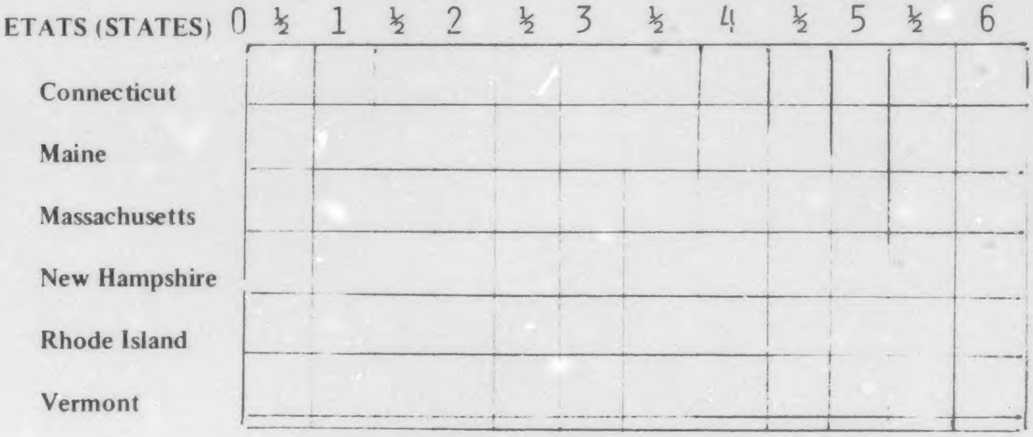
a) the provinces of Canada;

b) the six largest cities of North America;

c) the six largest cities in the state of Maine.

Activity no. 2:

The student receives a sheet with a copy of a graph similar to the one following:



Those who have contributed to the materials undertook an enormous task; today, some 1,300 students are being influenced by their work. More than 800 families now support the bilingual program because of their professional efforts.

The teachers also worked out a schedule for the programs (K-5) in English and in French to include art, math, language skills, social studies. The following outlines the schedule for the program in French.

SUGGESTED SCHEDULE FOR THE WEEK

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8 : 30 - 9 : 00	——— PROGRAM IN ENGLISH ———				
9 : 00 - 9 : 30		Math in French	Music in French	Math in French	
9 : 30 - 9 : 50	Recess				
9 : 50 - 10 : 30	——— PROGRAM IN ENGLISH ———				
10 : 30 - 11 : 15	Language Skills in French	Art in French	Language Skills in French	Art in French	Language Skills in French
	Lunch				
12 : 45 - 1 : 15	Social Studies in French	Social Studies in French	Social Studies in French	Social Studies in French	Social Studies in French
1 : 15 - 1 : 30	——— PROGRAM IN ENGLISH ———				
1 : 30 - 1 : 50	Recess				
1 : 50 - 2 : 45	——— PROGRAM IN ENGLISH ———				

A BILINGUAL PRODUCT

Thus, since 1970, families like that of the Leblanc, benefit from a program based upon their aspirations and way of life that is a bilingual and bicultural education.

It is too early to measure the full impact of the program. There are, however, certain indications of changes occurring.

Before the bilingual program was begun, test results indicated that some 40% of the students achieved lower than national norms in reading on standardized tests. Score keeping in English and math was begun for all project students in 1970.

Reading and math scores have been closely followed and analyzed to assure that those students involved in the bilingual program have scores comparable to those of students elsewhere in the nation. The Metro '70 Achievement Test has been used to measure any progress or regression. The test is administered twice during the year, in September and in May.

*The Primer level of the Metropolitan Achievement Test was administered to all kindergarten students in the project to assess their readiness skills. Ninety-seven percent of the students tested received average, above average and superior scores in reading readiness and 96% of these students received average, above average, and superior scores in math.

Grade one students were also given the Metro '70 Primary I level test. The majority of students (82%, demonstrated average or above average results in reading. Eighty-one percent of the students maintained an average or above average score in math.

Ninety percent of the second grade students achieved at the average and above average level in reading; 91% scored average and above average in math.

The third grade students maintained similar achievement level with 78% and 90% scoring average or above average in reading and math respectively.

In reading, 73% of the fourth grade students rated at the average and above average level. Seventy percent of the same students rated at the average and above average level in math achievement.

* * *

* In French, the Common Concepts Test has been used to measure student achievement in the First Grade only. The average has always been above the National norm in the pre and post tests.

* * *

As compared to 1970, the program has made the following differences:

A. No child has had less instruction in the amount of content studied under the bilingual program.

B. All of the students are learning more French.

C. Individual attention given to students has increased.

D. Some of the weaknesses in the curriculum have been identified and studied.

E. Teacher preparation, both personal and professional, has accelerated.

F. Active participation of parents in school activities has been more defined and has increased.

G. Evaluation procedures are more flexible, more precise and better understood through the use of behavioral objectives.

H. The curriculum, through the materials written, reflects the linguistic behavior of the population concerned.

I. The content taught also includes situations and experiences reflecting Franco-American culture.

EPILOGUE

This outline of the bilingual program in the Leblanc Community might leave the impression that the task is an easy one.

Yet, the work is never done!

The content and the process of educational activities have to be constantly evaluated. Both must reflect a regional culture yet extend to that universality which is beyond parochialism.

Public and professional interests have to .be coordinated. But also, respect for minority identity and majority perceptions must be maintained in the balance of freedom of expression.

Finally, in and out of the classroom, everyone must share in expressions of thought and in a way of life which constantly require a spirit of commitment.

The challenge of such an undertaking is for people like the Leblancs who want to know themselves and want nothing better than to participate fully in their American way of life.

* * *

Results of Metropolitan Achievement Tests -- Total Reading, Total Mathematics, Language, and Spelling Scores During Four Years of Project Operation

Grade	Score	SS	Stanine	GE	SS	Stanine	GE	SS	Stanine	GE	SS	Stanine	GE
K	Total Reading				27	6	-	29	7	-	28	7	-
	Total Math				26	6	-	27	6	-	30	7	-
1	Total Reading	38	5	1.8	39	5	1.8	42	6	2.0	40	5	1.9
	Total Math				42	5	1.8	41	5	1.8	43	5	1.9
2	Total Reading				52	5	2.6	54	5	2.8	57	6	3.1
	Total Math				55	4	2.5	61	6	3.0	65	7	3.3
3	Total Reading							57	4	3.1	61	5	3.5
	Total Math							71	5	3.8	75	6	4.2
	Language							69	5	3.9	73	5	4.5
	Spelling							63	5	3.5	67	6	4.1
4	Total Reading										68	5	4.3
	Total Math										80	5	4.7
	Language										77	5	5.0
	Spelling										73	5	4.8

Results of Common Concepts Foreign Language Test During Four Project Years

YEAR	PRE	POST	DIFFERENCE
197 -197	42	49	7
197 -197	52	61	9
197 -197	53	60	7
197 -197	50	59	9

Each year, some 150 first grade students in the project were administered the Common Concepts Foreign Language Test. The test is usually used nationally at the Junior-Senior High Level. The test consists of 80 questions each to be answered from four pictorial responses. On both the pre and post tests, the project students have achieved above National norms.

CAJUN FRENCH AND FRENCH CREOLE: THEIR SPEAKERS AND THE QUESTIONS OF IDENTITIES [1]

by

Dorice Tentchoff

The curious tourist's request «show me a Cajun» can present the Louisianian with a perplexing problem. Who indeed is a Cajun and how can he be identified? The traveller might first be given a comfortable chair and a good history book. As he reads, he will learn about a group of French people who settled in Acadia in the early 1600's. He might learn something of their life there. He will certainly find ample descriptions of their persecution by the English and of their expulsion from this New World colony. The period of *Le Grand Dérangement* will be recounted. He will read how an uncertain number of refugees found their way to Louisiana via circuitous routes. Questions about their ancestral existence in France before any of these events and about their reasons for migrating to Acadia will probably remain unsatisfied. In any case, he will be more curious about how many there are today in Louisiana and why they are called Cajuns.

The tourist is now more eager than ever to set out and meet the people. With his new fund of information he feels confident about his abilities to identify them. They are French speakers; they are Catholic and their food habits will be familiarly French. He makes the acquaintance of a Taylor, a Schexnaider, a Castille, a de la Houssaye, a Dugas and a Broussard.

We will assume that he is a good student and learned from the history book that only the Dugas and the Broussards, among these, are Cajuns, i.e. descendants of people who once lived in Acadia. The others, he will discover, are English, German, Spanish, and French in origin. We will further assume that the visitor is a French speaker himself. He finds that with some effort he can understand the speech of some of his new acquaintances. Other speakers are almost totally incomprehensible to him. They are not speaking French though he recognizes a word here and there. He finds that all are indeed Catholic and that their domestic cuisine is superb but is not French. Instead he is offered *file gumbo* and rice. He has not only never tasted it before, but the words *file* and *gumbo* are not part of his French vocabulary.

Perplexed, but intrigued and persistent, he repeats his question: «Who is a Cajun?» How is it to be answered? We suggest that delving into historical origins and observing traditional behavior are not the only methods available to us for proceeding with our task: identifying members of an ethnic group.

There is another way of approaching this matter, a way which may be more useful than others. It is a simple and direct one and it does more justice to sociocultural reality. The direct criterion of ethnic group membership is ascription and self-ascription (Barth 1969:13). Applied to our case, the suggestion means that Cajuns are those who so identify themselves and who are accepted as such by others. Acceptance of this criterion will be helpful in accounting for a great deal of behavior as it is actually found in Acadiana.

But what does it mean to be a Cajun? Most outsiders tend to perceive Cajuns as a monolithic group, having in mind some stereotype image. Natives themselves have a very different model of their own community. It is composed of a complex of groups and individuals, of crisscrossing and at times shifting identities. These distinctions are based on their knowledge of geographical, social, racial, speech and generational differences as well as on differences in historical origin. From a native point of view the term «Cajun» has varying referential and semantic content depending on who uses it and the context of its use.

Before describing the native Louisianian's use of this term, it is useful to begin by defining a few terms. The «French language» will here refer to all speech varieties whose basic grammatical resources derive from continental France. A «dialect» is one variety of a language spoken in a given geographical area. There are many dialects of French spoken in widely scattered parts of the world. Cajun French is one of them. It is not in itself uniform but varies from parish to parish and from town to town within Louisiana. In what follows, one variety of Cajun French is referred to.[2]

The language known to linguists as «French Creole» has very different origins. It developed during the 17th century in the course of contact between French-speaking Europeans and Africans, both on the west coast of Africa and in the French colonies in the New World. It became the native language of many Africans on both sides of the Atlantic as well as on islands in the Indian Ocean.

French Creole and all of the Creole languages that emerged during this period of expanding Western European commerce have certain important characteristics in common. A largely European vocabulary (either Portuguese, Dutch, French or English) is used with phonological and grammatical structures of many African languages (Dalby 1971).

In some communities in Acadiana both the Cajun French and the French Creole are spoken. Though the distinction between them is well recognized and of great importance socially, in certain contexts the two are regarded as closely related.[3] For this reason, the term «French» is sometimes inclusive of both.

The widest, most generalizing meaning of the label «Cajun» is «a native who is a French speaker.» In this case «French» stands for both the Cajun and the Creole languages. In contrast to «Cajun» are the labels «American» or «Englishman» – terms often used as semantically identical and therefore interchangeable. This is reasonable given the history of the area and the still important French-Anglo-Saxon boundary bisecting the State. Either of the terms refers to all outsiders - English speakers - with whom one may have contact.

Since the term denotes «a native who is a French speaker», it is not surprising that black speakers of either the French dialect or the French Creole are often identified as Cajuns. Some Afro-Americans so identify themselves. This is interesting for many reasons. It does not appear to be the case that outsiders include black French speakers under this rubric. To the outsider, that an individual is black suffices as identification in the same way that the term «Cajun» implies an undifferentiated population.

There are other aspects of this to be considered. Southern Louisiana is one of the only areas in the United States in which mulatto groups have historically been accorded a relatively higher status by the local white dominant class (Smith and Hitt 1952). Elsewhere, the offspring of mixed unions have always been regarded as «black» in a rather remarkable denial of biological fact. The expression «free men of color» seems to be limited in use to Louisiana. It is a literal translation of the French ***gens de couleur libres*** widely used before the Civil War. Throughout the remainder of the United States the equivalent term is «freedmen.» The expression ***gens de couleur*** is in current usage. Most «blacks» in the area are ***gens de couleur*** claiming a white ancestor within living memory.

It is apparent that in some localities, relations between whites and blacks have been close for a prolonged period of time. Frequent, informal, daily contact between them was a necessary and accepted ingredient of living. This was especially so for children who spent much of their childhoods together.

In the face of an often rejecting and hostile outside world, French-speaking members of both races experienced a common level of identity. So strong was this identity that it over-ruled in part the racial distinction so fundamental in the United States.

The use of the sole criterion of French speech to delineate the boundaries of the group can still be found among residents in some communities. However, the situation has changed enormously in recent years. Ethnic realignments have taken place which reflect the impact of national, social and political developments. Younger blacks in the smallest villages have acquired a strong sense of identity with Afro-Americans and with the national black movement. Such individuals do not refer to themselves as Cajuns. If they are speakers of French or Creole they call themselves «Creoles». They then further distinguish themselves (***nèg Creoles***) from black Americans (***nèg 'méricains***). The term «Cajun» may have negative connotations and contrast with «white» which has positive connotations.

By the same token, whites in the small communities have responded to the sweeping economic, social and political changes of recent years. With their improved economic positions, and with the incursion of outside values and viewpoints, the black-white dichotomy so widespread elsewhere has firmly entrenched itself locally.

The use of the term «Creole» by the native population is complex and appears to vary from community to community. It refers universally throughout the region to one of the local languages known also as ***français nèg*** or just ***nèg***, «nigger French,» ***gumbo***, or descriptively as ***vini-couri***. Creole is spoken in some communities by most blacks as well as by many whites. For a few older persons of both races, it is an only language. Creole, as a term designating a language, contrasts with «real French», or ***le bon français***, i.e. the local dialect French.

It has already been mentioned that

black Creole speakers may identify themselves as Creoles.[4] So, however, do some white French and Creole speakers. There are apparently two somewhat different meanings to the term. My data indicates that the semantic difference may in part be accounted for by the difference in historical origin of those using it. Some white and black French or Creole speakers use the term «Creole» to mean «all the native speakers of French,» black and white. In this instance it is identical in semantic content to the term «Cajun» as described above. However, white speakers make a further distinction: whites are Cajuns and blacks are Negroes. «Cajun» in this contrast set becomes a secondary category with the meaning «white».

Other speakers of French use the term Creole in another way. It is an identity label but in this case it is used to distinguish descendants of «real Frenchmen» who came to Louisiana *direct de la France*, from «Cajuns» who arrived via Acadia. «Creole» here is in contrast to «Cajun». To claim a «real Frenchman» as an ancestor gives one special status in the eyes of the community. Here indeed is an echo of the past, when such «Creoles» had high status and sat in the seats of power.

There are as well narrower, more specific labels abusive in nature used within the group that are apparently employed and familiar to those in a quite restricted locality.

The uses of «Cajun» and «Creole» cannot be understood to mean two discrete categories of persons standing in a one to one relationship to each other. Much remains to be investigated. Features such as the age and social position of the speaker, more refined racial designations, and other factors need to be thoroughly checked and correlated to term usage. The context in which labeling takes place is also significant. It may be the case that the apparent variation, which neither constitutes a taxonomy nor a paradigm, is based on differences between individual cognitive models in the community. Those interested in following in greater detail the range of problems involved here are referred to Wallace (1966), Tyler (1969), Blumer (1972), Swartz (1960), Rosaldo (1972), and Sankoff (1971).

Just as an examination of identity terms indicates that a variety of concepts exist with regard to group boundaries, so individual members of the community vary from one another when viewed from the outside. The range of personalities, of individual experience, of social positions, is as complete within Acadiana as elsewhere in the United States.

What is perhaps striking are the unexpected contrasts to be found everywhere. They are a constant reminder of the degree of change this area has undergone and the rapidity with which it has occurred. There is a marked contrast between generations. A brilliant young lawyer and accomplished musician may have parents who cannot read. Illiterate adults proudly refer to a literate grandparent who taught youngsters the catechism in French. It is like being shuttled back and forth in a time machine.

There is also the contrast between current social position and former background: here, a millionaire who of necessity signs his checks with a special mark and drives a shiny Cadillac; there, a forceful and successful power-wielding politician – a veritable Mayor Daley of the village - with not more than a fourth grade education. Conversely, a knowledgeable retired school teacher - the master of all linguistic variants in the region - is tucked away in a little house on the levee of the bayou, seemingly forgotten and unappreciated.

In a crumbling, unpainted structure so tiny you are amazed to discover three rooms within, lives an ancient, snowy-haired black couple. They can only be described as genteel, true aristocrats. Their French is as close to literary as can be found in the village. In one of these rooms you are served a *demitasse* of inky Cajun coffee with formality and exquisite attention to details of etiquette. Voices are modulated and leisure seems to be the stuff out of which life is made. The crack in the wall that lets in the daylight and the pile of rusted junk cars just to the right of the doorway are forgotten. Nothing less than a colonial palace hung with tapestries is a fit setting for such an occasion.

A short distance away in a beautiful ante-bellum home complete with classical Greek columns, lives an elderly plantation owner. A maid in uniform answers the door and leads you solemnly into a splendid study where the old gentleman sits in somewhat sullied jean coveralls. The two large brass spittoons on either side of him are used at frequent intervals in the course of the interview. Though he has lived here since early childhood, inheriting his father's fortune, he is an outsider and speaks no French. His concerns are mundane, narrowly limited to the growing of crops for profit and getting the «right man» into office. The contrasts are seemingly endless.

It is a revelation to slowly become aware of the adaptation of illiterates in this era of the printed word. They have for instance, devised ingenious systems for correlating phone numbers and names that handily function without a flaw. Many are uncannily gifted mathematically. If you have never been shopping with an illiterate in a supermarket, it is hard to understand. They do not need cash registers. Their heads are as quick and as accurate.

Finally, there are the children growing up with rock and roll, exposed through the media to the values and undercurrents in a world become small. The outside world impinges a little more every day. Over time, the incursion has been massive. Technological and economic changes and the rapid development of all systems of communication have revolutionized life throughout the region. Most men nowadays are away from home at least as much as they are present. Shift work on dredges and oil rigs is available outside. Many women have jobs. Television sets are commonplace and cars a necessity.

Yet, there is continuity and a powerful sense of belonging in the village. Family relationships and a community of known individual personalities are an effective force against fragmentation. The children are enveloped by it. It is still a world of personal not bureaucratic communication.

How reasonable to assume that speech in such a setting is uniform. In a community of perhaps 500 persons all well known to each other, one could sensibly expect that speech would be homogeneous. Instead, other languages are currently in use: Cajun French,

French Creole and English. Indeed, variants of each of these are also in evidence.

What does such linguistic variety mean? What functions can it serve? How do people talk to and understand each other? These are questions which have long interested linguists. Some have only recently been investigated. Though much has been learned, the surface is barely scratched.

In the community, not everyone speaks all three languages. Some speak two and understand the third; others speak only one and understand two, and so forth. There is great variation in the productive (speaking) and receptive (understanding) competencies of individuals. Yet speech is not chaotic. There are rules which govern the use of the different languages in the community. The linguists' assumption is that the selection of language in any given instance is not random but meaningful. Individuals choose from their options deliberately with an end in mind. Their choice is controlled by their linguistic competencies as well as by their hearers and by commonly accepted social constraints.

To begin with, the languages are ranked in terms of prestige: English, Cajun French and Creole, in descending order. But this is a simplification. The ranking of English over Cajun French holds true in situations of contact with outsiders and it is true for children who identify more with the outside world. The common observation that parents speak to their children in English reflects concern. They realize that English is a *sine qua non* in the world at large. Within the local adult community, Cajun French remains the prestigious language. There is an etiquette involved in using it.

It is, for instance, considered bad taste to speak Cajun French to a French Creole speaker, if one knows Creole. Only a *nez retroussé* will do so. If it happens, it is meaningful. It puts social distance between two people. However, blacks, who do not want to identify themselves with Cajuns, may well speak Creole to Cajun French speakers, even when they are competent in Cajun French.

Bilingual Cajun French and Creole speakers tend to use Creole as the language of intimacy. Husband and wife switch to Creole when they are alone or when they are relaxed and at home with others who understand it. They may exchange a few remarks to each other in Creole in the course of a Cajun French conversation in which they are participants. The proper use of the two languages becomes a more sensitive issue between individuals of higher social rank. In an observed verbal exchange between two wealthy and locally influential men, one a Cajun French speaker, the other a Creole speaker, English was the language resorted to. The Creole speaker felt it demeaning to speak Creole in these circumstances. The other thought it somewhat patronizing to use Cajun French. Social equals need an «equal» language as a medium of communication. What is unusual in the community is the lack of correspondence between language competency and social status. The only explanation for this appears to be rapid social change.

In a family setting, English is almost universally spoken to children, though French or Creole continues to be used between parents. In the middle of a French or Creole conversation with friends, a parent may turn to a small child and reprimand him in English. Many children, however, do learn to speak French or Creole. It is a part of their environment from birth. Some learn to speak it during adolescence from their peers in school. This is particularly true of the Creole and particularly true for males. In this setting, where it is spoken in a notably rapid staccato, it acquires the status of a secret language which teachers ordinarily do not understand. It is the language of symbolic familiarity for the peer group. The use of Creole by adolescent girls marks them as traditional or «old fashioned» in the eyes of boys, who prefer to associate with English-speaking girls.

Elderly married couples can be found who do not speak the same language. Over the years, each spouse has continued to use his maternal tongue - one Cajun French, the other Creole. Each has a perfect receptive competence in the other's language, but seldom, if ever, speaks it. It is perhaps easier to explain why the Cajun French speaker does not use Creole. It is much more difficult to understand why the Creole speaker does not use French. Social prestige is not the only motivating force involved in language use.

The category «social rapport» is meant to deal with those situations within the community in which a multilingual speaker addresses an individual who does not have a productive competence in the speaker's most familiar language. In that case, the speaker switches to another language. Thus, a white tri-lingual speaker will use French or Creole to establish social rapport depending on the linguistic competence of the addressee. In these instances, group solidarity would also be expressed by the use of the appropriate language. For the black tri-lingual speaker, however, solidarity within the black community is always expressed by Creole. Bilingual French-English and Creole-English speakers may employ English on some occasions for purposes of rapport as the example of the interaction between two prominent men illustrates.

What happens when people with different linguistic competencies interact? Well, it happens frequently and Cajuns are highly verbal people. Imagine an afternoon on the *galri* of a modest house. Present are an old lady, who is monolingual Creole speaker, her daughter-in-law and an older female friend – both Cajun French speakers – and myself. Throughout the visit, the main topic of conversation is *le vieux temps*. Talk is constant. Indeed, sociability is expressed largely verbally through the medium of narrative, banter, jokes, etc.

Transcription of a conversation[5]

F speaker 1: *Isit, tu peux faire du wiski du riz, uh Madame–––––––?*
C speaker: *Oh, oui.*
F speaker 1: *Mais, moi j'étais tout pitite quand papa faisait du wiski. S'est bien malheureux t'a pas eu parler ça 'vek papa.*
C speaker: *Mo et mo garçon no /us/ faisé du vin quand no resté dans bois.*
Interviewer: *Avek quoi?*
C speaker: *'vek des mûres.*
F speaker 1: *Vous oubliez la reçette, YAS?*
C speaker: *Oh, non. Mo peux fai ça toujous. Mais na pi des mûres. L'année passé nous chassé pou des mûres. No pas trouver nil par.*
Interviewer. *Des mûres sauvages qui poussent?*
C speaker: *Ya pli de ça.*
F speaker 1: *J'me rappelle quand j'étais pitite, uh, nonk ––– vieux nonk –*

——faisait du vin. I'vendait ça a tout que'qu'un.

F speaker 2: *J'sais pas si ç'était d'vin ou d'wiski, mai j'rappelle (v)war ça.*

C speaker: *Nouso, no metté les mûres à bain pot grès. Etais bien putéyé. Pi, no metté ça tremper dans pot grès. La, quand ye te GONE, le tout fait caler.*

F speaker 1: *Oh, c'est comme ça vous conné quand c'est bon?*

C speaker: *Oui. Et la, ye te...*

F speaker: *La, quand i'calent, et pi, i'remontent en l'air encore la, vous les remasse?*

C speaker: *Oui.*

F speaker 1: *La, vous les me dans des bouteilles et les bouches?*

C speaker: *Non, non, non. To me les-to fais-i' fo to COOL ye. La, quand i va commancer-li va travailler encore. Li va travailler. To va wa à comme dit vieux - - - to va wa les alles, les allant! Ça va et ça went comme ça. Quand ye va reter travailler, to peux met tout ye dans le JUG. Mais, la, to prend un ti mo(r)ceau d'bar, o un ti moceau d'linge. To bouche li bien. To maré serré serré. Pi la, laisses li jus to percois li traivaille pli.*

Translation

F speaker: Here, you can make whiskey from rice, uh Madame ——?

C speaker: Oh yes.

F speaker: But, I was very little when papa made whiskey. It's too bad you couldn't talk to papa about it.

C speaker: My son and I, we made wine when we lived in the woods.

Interviewer: With what?

C speaker: With blackberries.

F speaker 1: You forget the recipe, Yes?

C speaker: Oh no, I can always make that. But there are no more blackberries. Last year we looked for blackberries. We didn't find any anywhere.

Interviewer: Wild blackberries that grow?

C speaker: There are no more of those.

F speaker: I remember when Iwas small, uh-uncle-old uncle —— made wine. He sold it to everyone.

F speaker 2: I don't know if it was wine or whiskey, but I remember seeing that.

C speaker: We put the blackberries in a stoneware pot. They were well mashed. Then we put them to soak in the stoneware pot. When they had all disappeared, they had all sunk. They had altogether sunk.

F speaker 1: Oh, is that how you know when it's good?

C speaker: Yes, and they were...

F speaker 1: So, when they sink and then rise up again, you take them out?

C speaker: Yes.

F speaker 1: So, you put them in bottles and cork them?

C speaker: No, no, no. You put them —— you make —— you must COOL them. When they start – it will work (ferment) again. It will work. You will see it. As old —— says, you'll see the comings and the goings. It comes and it goes like that. When they stop working, you can put all of them in a jug. But then, you take a little piece of netting, or a little piece of cloth. You cork it well. You tie it very tight. Then you leave it until you can see it is no longer working.

In the above conversation, the Creole and Cajun French speakers simply converse, each understanding the others and each speaking in her own language. As is evident, English words occur within

French or Creole sentences. Another common feature of multilingual conversations in the community is the occurrence of English phrases within French sentences or vice-versa. For instance, consider the following:

C speaker: *Mais mo delivrais un ta, un ta de ti bebe. Et moi tout seul. Pas personne avek.*

F speaker 1: *Ma maman aussi.*

F speaker 2: You see. It was Dr. ––, my doctor, and he was in the service *quand il est né.*

C speaker: *Mo laissais pas – mo laissais pa rien, to connais, dans le chemin.*

or

F speaker: *Oh, mais che (r). Mais,* Don't feel bad, *elle dit, ça veux* mean *t'est toujours jeune.*

Translation

C speaker: But I delivered many, many little babies. And all alone. No one was with me.

F speaker 1: My mother, too.

F speaker 2: You see it was Dr.––, my doctor, and he was in the service when he was born.

C speaker: I didn't leave –– I didn't leave anything, you know, in the way.

or

F speaker: Oh, but dear. But don't feel bad, she says, it means that you are always young.

So far, it is virtually impossible to know on what such switching between languages within one sentence depends.

It is particularly interesting to observe that the Creole speaker switches to French forms when she quotes French speakers in the course of her narration. The most immediate way to distinguish the Creole from the French is to note the form of the first person singular: *j* in French and *m* in Creole (*je* and *mo*); in the third person singular, *i* (*l*) in French and *li* in Creole. Also, third person plural in French is *i(ls)* and *ye* in Creole.

Creole speaker: *Mais, i dit, vous peux pas fai(re) que'q'chose? Mo dit, oui, mo peux fai(re), mais ca mo peux fai(re) la, mo fera pas ca. Mais, si vous croi vous peux fai(re) que'q'chose, i dit, na jush moi et –– qui va conné. Je vous promais, i dit, que jamais –– ni moi va jamais di plus a rien à personne si que'q'chose arrive. Mo dit, mo pas pou(r) ca.*

Translation

C speaker: But he says, can't you do something? I say, yes, I can. But that (which) I can do, I won't do. But, if you think you can do something, he says, there is just me and –– who will know. I promise you, he says, that never will –– nor I ever say anything to anybody if something happens. I say, I'm not for that.

This is puzzling. If the Creole speaker can switch to French, why does she not do so throughout the conversation? There is no sure answer to this. She simply never uses it except to quote. However, her degree of competence in French is probably quite limited. It would be difficult for her to talk freely and express herself naturally in French. She is also a woman without social pretentions and the situation did not compromise her in any way.

There are ample indications that many Creole speakers have definite limitations in their ability to switch to French at will. When a Creole speaker is placed in a position in which he is obliged to speak Creole and feels compromised by it, interesting consequences may follow. Feeling uncomfortable because of the social connotations carried by Creole speech, such an individual, if he is enterprising, may sometimes create entirely new linguistic forms. For instance:

Cajun French: *leur char* «their car»
Creole French: *ye (tchen) char* «their car»
New Form: *yeur char* «their car»

The Creole speaker, in an attempt to speak Cajun French, has created something which is neither French nor Creole. It appears to be a compromise between the two: the *ye* of Creole and the *leur* of French. It also curiously approximates the English «your car» which of course does not mean the same thing. The target language in this case remains strangely ambiguous.

In another example:

Cajun French: *ca c'est pur eux* «this belongs to both of them»
Creole French: *c'est pou ye tous les deux* – «this belongs to both of them»
New Form: *c'est pou les deux d'yeux* – «this belongs to both of them».

The *d'yeux* seems to be a compromise between the Creole *ye* and the French *eux*. However, the situation is ambiguous again. The new form, *d'yeux*, meaning «of them» literally follows English grammatical structure. These new forms were not heard often, but occurred on two different occasions involving two different Creole speakers who did not know each other.

There is an enormous linguistic variation in use. What does it mean when, in one village such a frequently used expression as, «I have to go now», is said as:

1) *j'ai pour aller asteur,* 2) *i faut je va asteur,* 3) *i faut mo va asteur,* 4) *mo gain pou couri asteur.*

The first and the fourth examples are the most distant in that the speaker using number 1 is not likely to ever use number 4. However, in grammatical structure, they are very similar: *j'ai* «I have», *mo gain* «I have, » *pour aller* «to go,» *pou couri* «to go». Numbers 2 and 3 are identical except for the first person singular. People who use number 1 also use number 2. Those who use number 3 also use number 4. There is a slight semantic difference between number 1, «I have to,» and number 2 «I must». The same difference is true for numbers 3 and 4.

This indicates that social value is attached to selected linguistic forms. These «markers» (linguistic features which are selectively loaded with social meaning) distinguish Creole from Cajun French. Grammatically, in certain instances, the differences are minimal. The Creole markers here are the first person singular *mo* and the forms *gain* and *couri*.

Another example of such a linguistic marker:

1) *ca ina*? «what's the matter?» 2) *qui ina*? «what's the matter?» 3) *quoi ina*? «what's the matter?»

The individual using number 3 will not use number 1, though his use of number 2 is not infrequent. Likewise, the individual using number 1 will not use number 3, though number 2 will be used alternately with number 1. Number 3 has the highest social value, number 1 is the Creole form; and number 2 apparently an alternate form.

There is much controversy in linguistic circles today about the meaning of such variation and about how to approach it theoretically. Variation is apparently found in every known linguistic community. Studies made during the past decade have demonstrated that such variation is not only ubiquitous, social, and functional, but is systematic and regular in nature. Controversy has arisen as to how to best conceptualize and describe it. One school of thought maintains that variation is found in the performance of the members of every community even though they all share one basic grammatical system. Rules have been formulated to describe the variation within this single system (Labov 1966; Shuy et al 1967; Sankoff and Cedergren 1971; Cedergren 1973). Another school of thought contends that observed linguistic variation derives from the existence of more than a single grammar in the linguistic community. The variation, it is maintained, can best be described as a scale or continuum with each gradation representing a particular grammar (DeCamp 1971; Bickerton 1973a, 1973b).

How should the South Louisiana linguistic community be approached? Are there three distinct grammatical systems: one for Creole, one for French, and one for English? Or do the French Creole and the Louisiana French comprise one system containing variables? Though it has not been discussed in this paper, English speech is not uniform either. The English speech of Afro-Americans in the community is recognizably different from the English speech of whites. In neither case is it standard. Are there more than three co-existent systems? What is the relation between the English and non-English speech in the community? Is it feasible to propose that there is a range of dialects each with its own grammar, all having standard English as a target? How does one theoretically cope with sentences that are composed of lexemes and grammatical features from both the English and non-English languages? The situation is complex and no ready answers are available.

What is the process that gives rise to so much variation? On what does it depend? Is there a direction to the process? If so, what is it? These are questions linguists pose. They are raised here because they are pertinent to South Louisiana where the linguistic situation is as heterogeneous as is the social. The two are related. Language use appears to depend on social values, attitudes, and change.

Both the local French and the French Creole are spoken, not written, languages. This is to say nothing remarkable about them. All human languages until very recently have been oral. Both are, however, languages about which much has been written. Excellent as it may be in other respects, much of what is contained between the covers of books on the subject of these languages is biased. It is written from an elitist point of view. The local speech is examined from the vantage point of the literary French standard of the day (whether 19th or 20th century).

Differences from the standard are noted and interpreted as «mistakes» due to ignorance, or as «corruptions» of the «pure» French language. Adjectives such as «quaint» and «simple» often describe both people and language. One may well ask «quaint» to whom, and «simple» by what criterion? Frequently forms are found to be what is called «archaic». Surely it is a misnomer to label a speech form «archaic» when it is currently in use. The forms are not obsolete to those using them.

Features of Creole speech have often been correlated with anatomical and mental characteristics of the black people. This is totally unfounded. Linguists today accept as axiomatic that the speech of any ethnic group is completely unrelated to the physical and mental attributes of its members (Wolfram 1971).

Languages do not exist in the abstract apart from the human beings who speak them. They die with their speakers. There is much evidence of a strong attachment to the French and Creole languages among the people of South Louisiana. These languages and the purposes which they serve are unique, not quite like speech anywhere else. They have been, and still are for many, the sole medium for the expression of the mundane matters of daily life, for the recollection of the past, for dreams, for laughter and sorrow, for intimacy and comradeship, and for the communication of matters of life and death. But grave problems exist. Concern for the future of the languages is widely expressed and justified.

Major difficulties stand in the way of the true renaissance and future growth of the Cajun culture. The Council for the Development of French in Louisiana, in the few years of its existence, has made up an admirable beginning. It brought to the state of Louisiana a new awareness of the values inherent in its own diverse cultural heritage. It brought to the attention of the world a long neglected and relatively unknown group. Through the efforts of CODOFIL the problems and the future well-being of this group are now the concern of many, both at home and abroad.

However, some of the fundamental difficulties involved in maintaining the culture have yet to be dealt with. The greatest emphasis so far has been the standardization of the language. This policy merits closer examination. A pilot study conducted in 1969 (Savells 1969) indicates that there is an underlying reason for the reluctance of French-speaking parents to wholeheartedly support bilingual programs in the public schools. The reluctance is due to their recognition of the considerable differences between the local dialects and the French presented to their children in the school. Proponents of the bilingual programs must ask themselves if the people of Acadiana are motivated to learn a standard French at the expense of their native dialects. Is it the wish of the native speakers that the Creole be completely ignored and summarily dismissed? Have they been asked? Little, it seems, can be accomplished without genuine motivation at a grass roots level.

Not very long ago the French and French Creole languages were banned from the school grounds throughout Acadiana by official decree and offenders punished. This is vividly remembered by many. The timidity, self-consciousness, and linguistic insecurity found among many Cajuns can be traced to the ignorance and insensitivity of the policy-makers of that day. Is the stress that is currently placed on imported French speech contributing to that sense of insecurity? In all fairness, the question must be asked and it should be publicly aired.

Though it may please them to think otherwise, the future of the French language is not in the hands of *L'Académie Française* alone. It is as well in the hands of the many diverse populations around the world who speak it. Beside the possibility of failure, there is another danger involved in the imposition of alien forms on a people: the danger of creating a cultural imperialism.

It is remarkable to note that in spite of the rich local history and culture, no developed literature exists in either the Louisiana French or the French Creole. There is not even a published dictionary! Yet, it is widely recognized that people do not create freely and build on their traditions in a language that is not their own. Cajun culture cannot be expected to flourish in continental French literary style.

As long ago as 1934, George Lane (1934) wrote that a linguistic atlas of Southern Louisiana was a necessity if linguistic research was to proceed in an organized manner. A preliminary survey was subsequently conducted. To my knowledge, however, this report was never published. A short paper based on personal acquaintance with the substance of the survey concludes that an atlas and a dictionary of the Louisiana French would be of great interest (von Wartburg 1942). Neither of these is as yet a reality.

A proper survey today requires even more and different kinds of information. Linguists are interested in establishing the sociolinguistic patterns of speech: what groups and which individuals speak what languages and what dialects: to whom, in what contexts, and under what circumstances? There is not a published source which contains answers to these questions. The boundaries of the speech communities have yet to be chartered.

Related to the current stress on standard French speech is the stress on French association. Coupled with it is an apparent lack of attention focused on the teaching of Cajun culture in the schools. The history of the Cajuns of Louisiana is a part of the history of the New World. Cajun culture is the result of centuries of adaptation to an environment unlike that of France. The very identity of Cajuns is rooted in experience on this side of the Atlantic.

Histories of the Cajun people that continue beyond *Le Grand Dérangement* need to be written. Careful, comparative and historical documentation is required. Cajun cuisine has become famous. Research is needed to document other facets of the culture: oral literature, architecture, technology, kinship systems, folk medicine, dance, humor, etc. Bits and pieces about these subjects can be found scattered haphazardly in a vast literature varying in quality and authenticity.

Finally, it is often argued that economic development can only be had at the expense of cultural integrity. Cajuns, it is maintained, must be integrated into and assimilated by the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture if they are to progress. With the demise of the «melting pot» notion, much of the bite is gone from this contention. Most of us today recognize that it neither corresponded to a realistically attainable social order nor to a desirable one. The minority group movements of the past two decades have demonstrated the contrary. Cultural integrity and economic developments can and do go hand in hand. What is needed is a renewal of pride in the local culture, in the local languages.

We all have a long way to go in attaining a true appreciation of the meanings and subtle nuances embodied in a mother tongue. We are all sorely in need of a new understanding of the values inherent in diversity in all areas of human life. Diversity, in any case, seems to be an inevitable ingredient of any social order. It indicates perhaps a universal human desire for expression and a human quest for meaning and identity in the scheme of things.

NOTES

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2. Much of the data on which the discussion is based is limited to research carried out in a small rural area of Acadiana. No claim is made that any descriptive statement can be generalized or applied to all of French-speaking Louisiana. Indeed, it would be strange if this were possible since the region presents a rich, diversified, complex picture with respect to language and culture. Custom differs from locality to locality.

3. For a discussion of the mutual influences and interpenetrations of the French and French Creole and of the impact of English on both languages, see Raleigh Morgan Jr. «Dialect Levelling in Non-English Speech of Southwest Louisiana,» in *Texas Studies in Bilingualism*, Glen G. Gilbert, ed. Walter de Gruyter and Co., Berlin, 1970.

4. This question was addressed in a paper presented at the 1957 Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association by Kara Rousseau Smith and Vernon J. Parenton: «Cultural Patterns of Colored Creoles: a Study of a Selected Segment of New Orleans Negroes with French Cultural Orientations».

5. Since no standard orthography exists for either the Louisiana French or the French Creole and to aid readers with a knowledge of French, French orthography is used as much as possible throughout the transcriptions.

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LA CUISINE CHEZ NOUS

par

Soeur Marguerite Cyr

Des peuples d'origines, de cultures et de croyances totalement différentes se rencontrèrent, il y a trois cents ans, sur les rives rocheuses du Nouveau Monde. Nous pourrions donc dire avec sincérité que la Cuisine, Chez Nous, n'était ni française, ni anglaise.

C'était plutôt le respect du passé, et un désir honnête de créer des combinaisons merveilleuses avec les aliments qu'on avait en abondance, tels que le lait, le beurre, les oeufs, les légumes, la viande, ainsi que les fruits sauvages.

Nos ancêtres mangeaient des «plogues» trois fois par jour excepté le dimanche. Ce jour là il y avait du bon pain de ménage. Il midi, le repas se composait d'une soupe, du lard salé et des patates. Pour dessert, il y avait de la mélasse ou du sirop d'érable. Le soir encore du lard salé, des patates à «Barnard», du lait caillé et du sucre d'érable.

Il y avait des fruits sauvages en quantité: fraises, framboises, mûres, merises, cerises, bleuets, et pommes. Au printemps, l'érable donnait sa sève précieuse qui devenait un sirop ou du sucre délicieux.

Il fallait vendre des produits de la ferme pour se procurer du thé, du café, des épices, et de la mélasse. Le thé et le café étaient réservés pour des fêtes spéciales, et la famille acadienne buvait de l'eau, du lait et du petit-lait.

Chez nous, les bonnes vieilles recettes ne disparaissent pas; elles sont transmises de génération en génération. Les plogues, le boudin, les cretons, la tourtière, sont à l'honneur comme autrefois.

La «maîtresse de maison», c'est surtout comme «Cordon Bleu» qu'il faut la décrire. Elle prépare des mets délicieux inspirés par ses bonnes vieilles recettes. Elle n'a pas besoin de livre, ni de mesure. Elle sait utiliser les mille petits riens qui sont à sa disposition, et elle le fait avec simplicité et bon goût.

CHOWDER

Il y a longtemps, sur les côtes de Bretagne, le cri «Faites la Chaudière!» résonnait à l'approche d'une flotille de pêche. On allumait des feux de camp sur la plage et on mettait l'eau à bouillir dans de grandes chaudières. En débarquant, chaque pêcheur déposait une prise ou deux dans la marmite, les femmes y ajoutaient pommes de terre, oignons, carottes et lard salé. Et lorsque le tout avait mijoté, on célébrait «La Fête du potage.» Les Bretons apportèrent leurs chaudières en Acadie. Ce mot se transforma bientôt en «chowder» et désigne maintenant la soupe plutôt que la marmite.

LA SOUPE

Des potages onctueux et parfumés se servaient souvent à la table du colon; c'était alors un repas complet... Nous avons conservé cette tradition chez nous car la soupe était toujours bien épaisse, bien substantielle, car on y mettait de la viande, du riz, de l'orge – un peu de tout. Pour faire une bonne soupe il fallait un bon bouillon que l'on préparait la veille: un gigot de mouton ou de boeuf, recouvrir d'eau froide, amener à ébullition, faire cuire à petit feu jusqu'à ce que la viande devienne tendre. Le lendemain, on enlève la graisse et on met le liquide dans un pot de faïence, on le recouvre d'un linge pour empêcher la fermentation.

«CRETONS DE CHEZ NOUS»

2 livres de panne*
3 livres de porc haché
2 petits rognons de porc
2 tasses d'eau bouillante
1 tasse d'oignon haché
1 c. à table de sel
1/4 c. à thé de poivre
2 gousses d'ail, écrasées
1 feuille de laurier
1/2 c. à thé de sarriette
1/4 c. à thé de clou moulu
1/4 c. à thé de muscade

Couper la panne en morceau de 1/2 pouce. Cuire à feu doux, brassant de temps en temps, jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit légèrement dorée. Couler et garder le gras. Passer les résidus au hachoir. Mijoter porc et rognons dans l'eau, 1 heure, en brassant de temps à autre pour empêcher de coller au fond. Ajouter les résidus et les ingrédients. Couvrir et mijoter 2 heures de plus, en brassant de temps à autre. Retirer la feuille de laurier. Si la préparation semble trop maigre, ajouter un peu de gras fondu. Laisser tiédir. Mêler pour bien répartir le gras. Verser dans des bols passés à l'eau froide. Mettre au froid.

*Panne: graisse fondue provenant de l'abdomen du porc utilisée pour sa fermeté et sa saveur.

LES «PATATES A BARNARD»

Nos ancêtres mangeaient des patates trois fois par jour, bouillies, pilées, frites, au four. Un célibataire nommé «Barnard» avait l'habitude de faire bouillir une quantité de patates au début de la semaine. Tous les soirs, il faisait frire des tranches de patates dans la graisse de grillades avec des oignons tranchés, et les mangeait avec des grillades de lard. Le nom est devenu célèbre chez nous, et encore aujourd'hui, lorsqu'on fait cuire des patates dans la graisse, on appelle cela «des patates à Barnard»...

LE PAIN DE CHEZ NOUS

Depuis que nos ancêtres Acadiens apprirent des Indiens comment cultiver le blé d'Inde, et en faire une farine, le pain de blé d'Inde est devenu célèbre. De même pour le blé. Le «Johnny Cake», le «Boston Brown Bread» et les «Pansus» sont aussi populaires de nos jours qu'autrefois...

Trois conditions requises pour faire du bon pain: - de la bonne farine, de la bonne levure et la force pour bien pétrir. Pour vérifier la levure, on en prenait une petite quantité et on ajoutait un peu de farine. Si après 10 ou 15 minutes la pâte levait, on s'en servait.

LE PAIN DE MENAGE

La veille au soir on sort la huche et on la met près du poêle pour faire chauffer la farine. On faisait le levain avec de la farine, de l'eau tiède et une ou deux galettes trempées dans l'eau; on ajoutait un plat de pommes de terre écrasées. On ajoutait le levain à la farine, 1 poignée de sel et de l'eau. On pétrissait pour en faire une pâte molle; on laissait reposer 2 h., puis on rabaissait la pâte qui levait, on la laissait lever une seconde fois, on la mettait dans des casseroles, puis au four. A quatre heures on sortait le beau pain doré du four et on en mangeait avec du bon beurre frais...

LES PLOGUES (Galettes de Sarrasin)

Nos ancêtres mangeaient des «Plogues»

trois fois par jour... On les faisait avec de la farine de «buckwhit» (buckwheat) sarrasin. Il fallait conserver une grande quantité de farine pour en avoir jusqu'à la prochaine moisson. Les recettes étaient variées - plogues minces, plogues levées, plogues au lait-beurre, plogues au lait, etc. Les plogues sont populaires aujourd'hui comme autrefois et en voyageant on en trouve un peu partout.

1 t. de farine de «buckwhit»
1 t. de farine blanche
1 t. d'eau

Détremper comme il faut, ajouter un peu de soda et d'eau qui a bouilli. Faire cuire dans une poêle de fonte.

«JOHNNY CAKE»
Pain de blé d'Inde

Un pain de blé d'Inde qui est devenu célèbre, c'est le «Johnny Cake.» L'origine remonte aux temps où nos ancêtres devaient aller d'un village à l'autre à pied. C'était l'affaire d'une journée. La mère faisait des petits pains de blé d'Inde et elle remplissait la besace de son mari qui les mangeait en route. C'était des galettes pour la «journée.» Une bonne dame dont le mari s'appelait «Jean», et que les anglais appelaient «Johnny», a sans doute dit à son mari lorsqu'il partait: «Voilà les galettes de Johnny», - donc «Johnny Cakes.» C'est peut-être les anglais qui leur ont donné ce nom, enfin... hier, comme aujourd'hui, on mange des «Johnny Cakes» et c'est aussi délicieux que c'était autrefois!

Tamiser: 1 t. de farine
1/2 t. de sucre
1/4 c. à thé de sel
1/2 c. à thé de soda
1 c. à thé de poudre à pâte
1 c. à thé de farine de blé d'Inde

Mélanger les ingrédients secs et les laisser reposer. Battre un oeuf et incorporer:

1 t. de petit-lait
2 c. à thé de beurre fondu
2 c. à table de mélasse

Y ajouter les ingrédients secs, battre, mettre au four pendant 20 minutes. Couper en morceau de 2 pouces.

LOUISIANA'S CREOLE-ACADIAN CUISINE

by

Ernest Gueymard

Louisiana, unlike Gaul, is divided into two parts, the North and the South.

Culinarily speaking, this makes sense. Anglo-Saxon North Louisiana is not at home with the brown *roux*, nor jambalaya and crawfish *étouffée*. But South Louisiana's Cajun country and *La Nouvelle Orléans* have a way all their own with herbs and spices, gravies, fish courtbouillons, gumbos and French drip coffee.

In all sections where the Gallic influence has penetrated, one finds Louisiana Creole-Acadian cuisine, which sometimes is ineptly called French. This is in error because South Louisiana cookery is different, partly because of its rather generous seasoning, which is in sharp contrast to the somewhat bland dishes found in Louisiana's mother country, France.

The state's indigenous cuisine too long has been a sort of stepchild to world gastronomy, but happily this situation is changing. Newspapers and magazines round the world are devoting more attention to Louisiana food and the state's tourist industry is growing. The result: Louisiana cookery is getting its share of attention.

Perhaps the biggest recent shot in the arm was Time-Life's Foods of the World publication, «American Cooking: Creole and Acadian.»

Of course, long years ago Louisiana cuisine had gained some renown, even in the days of Mark Twain who spoke of the saltwater pompano as being «delicious as the less criminal forms of sin.»

But before we lose our balance over the charms of South Louisiana's larder and what we do with it, let's briefly examine the word Creole, about which there are some misconceptions. And we'll examine the word Cajun, too.

There are several definitions, but basically most agree that a Creole is a white descendant of an original Louisiana settler, especially a French or Spanish settler. The term is the French translation of the Spanish word *criollo,* first used in the 16th century by Spaniards to distinguish their own pureblooded children from those of mixed blood, that is, a Spaniard and a non-Spaniard, born in the colonies.

Of course, Cajun is the corruption of Acadian, the French who were residents of *Acadie*, now Nova Scotia, and who arrived in Louisiana beginning in the 1760's following eviction by the English. These Acadians had come from various sections of France originally.

Food writers often make an exaggerated distinction between so-called Creole cookery and Cajun cookery. This can be misleading because basically the two are double first cousins and are the same in many respects, being a happy fusion of the food tastes of numerous peoples, not only French and Spanish.

However, there are some differences, the Creole cuisine leaning more to *haute cuisine* and perhaps a little less seasoning. While jambalaya and gumbo would be very at home in both kitchens, flambéed dishes, for instance, are more popular in Creole cookery and *boudin rouge* (blood sausage) might be the *pièce de résistance* in, say, Mamou.

Some writers, not specific about the difference, settle for something like this: «Creole cuisine is city stuff and Cajun cookery belongs in the country».

But enough of this divisive talk. This is mostly semantics. South Louisiana cookery, Creole and Acadian, in all its forms stacks up mightily to the lofty French cuisine, and to the Louisiana palate, it is superior, *naturellement*.

To our way of thinking this cooking has a cultural connotation, bringing to mind a way of life, a certain *joie de vivre*, a tolerance not found in every clime. This frame of mind is best expressed in a South Louisiana French expression – *faites rouler le bon temps* (let the good times roll on). *Voilà!* This feeling has spread to transplanted residents from other sections who, before too long, are hopelessly converted – even to strong coffee.

The food likes of the various nationalities that found their way to South Louisiana eventually merged into one over a long period and out of this *mélange* evolved what we know today as Creole-Acadian cuisine.

In both New Orleans and all over south Louisiana where the French influence is apparent, things Gallic are more or less exalted, even today. The word Creole has come to signify the best and in the Creole tradition, one speaks of Creole beans, Creole mustard, Creole pralines - even Creole horses.

This feeling may be illustrated in the view of some old-timers in the heavily-French populated areas who have not yet accustomed themselves to this «foreign influence» - that is, the influx of people to South Louisiana from Anglo-Saxon regions.

In World War II one Louisiana French grandmother raised Cain when her granddaughter married a northern soldier boy stationed in a South Louisiana military camp. Later, when the marriage went on the rocks and her *bébé* came home, granny exclaimed: «I never did believe in *mixed* marriages».

And another grandmother with close ties to New Orleans commented when asked about a New Orleans family named Johnson. «Oh,» she said, «you mean those «Americans.» And so it goes. Native South Louisianans cherish their Latin background and this includes familiarity with a great number of succulent dishes.

Cooking customs of the various nationalities in the colonial period eventually «married.» Although the basic contributions were initially by the French, South Louisiana cookery influences include the Spanish, Negro slaves, Indians, German settlers, Italians who came much later, and from just plain Americans who moved South.

The French who came here directly from France or from the West Indies, brought with them the ancient culinary knowledge of their homeland as did the Acadians, also French, who brought a somewhat similar but hardier cuisine from Canada.

It is said that the French emphasized home-grown vegetables, sauces, and a love of onions, including the shallot. They liked lettuce too. (The lettuce today in France, incidentally, is hard to beat.)

The Spanish lent a pungency in their use of chili, peppers, pimientos, tropical spices and herbs. The prevalence of parsley in South Louisiana cookery is credited to the Spanish. Italians showed us how to make a good tomato sauce. Germans gave a robust tone to some dishes, including *andouille*, a smoked pork sausage, which is also French.

Let's not minimize the culinary contributions of the Indians which were not limited to use of Indian corn and wild fruits. They made bread from maize and also from powdered dried fruits. They know how to barbecue and fry fish well.

A popular Indian dish was *sagamité*, a kind of pap made from maize and sometimes cooked with beans and meats. The early French explorers, including LePage du Pratz, have left us a vastly different picture to that taught the average school child. The Red men did not mainly spend their days finding people to scalp. Beans were a staple crop when Pierre LeMoyne, Sieur D'Iberville established the first French settlement in the Mississippi Valley.

The Indians developed many varieties of corn. Only recently an Associated Press dispatch told of the research by George Wells Beadle, retired president of the University of Chicago, who says that the Indians had developed some 300 types of corn by the time Columbus reached America. Du Pratz gave them credit for development of the melon and the pumpkin.

The Indians gave us *filé*, powdered sassafras leaves, used as a flavoring and thickening agent in gumbos.

Now just what is this Creole-Acadian cuisine? How is it different from the cookery of other lands? Well for one thing, the use of herbs and spices is rather unique. Perhaps the best way to define the term is to describe some traditional South Louisiana dishes.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of this cookery is the foundation mixture we call a *roux* – oil or butter cooked with flour in that dear old iron skillet until it's brownish. The *roux* not only adds color, but tastes as well, and is used in making gravies, stews and gumbos, among other things.

There's one cardinal principle in South Louisiana – the *roux* must be dark and must be cooked slowly.

The strong feeling for a brown gravy as opposed to a white gravy can be illustrated in a comment made by a native in describing a woman whose grooming was all bad - hair stringy, no makeup, ill-fitting garments. The critical comment went something like this: «Why she looks like a woman who would make gray gravy!» No epithet could be more abrasive than to accuse a woman of this «crime.»

How long should a *roux* be cooked? That depends. Some say 20 to 30 minutes is sufficient. Others wouldn't settle for anything less than an hour, and a New Iberia friend devotes about four hours to this preliminary task. Surely, these four hours must have included browning the onions.

Speaking of onions, South Louisiana

storekeepers usually classify them as white onion, yellow onion, Creole onion (the reddish ones), green onion and shallot. (Green onions and shallots are different). You'd have to hunt all year and into the next to find a typical South Louisiana Gallic cook who would use the word scallion, a word so often thrust on us Southerners by writers - even in the very marvelous book, «American Cooking: Creole and Acadian.»

The old black cast iron skillet is an important part of the *batterie de cuisine.* Someone has said that in Old Louisiana when a girl received her dowry a black iron skillet always went with the marriage *dot.* (Incidentally, this ancient French custom of a dowry still prevails in West Baton Rouge Parish where a perpetual fund was established by the philanthropist, Julien Poydras, for the benefit of needy brides).

Some cooks prefer skillets made of other metals, but try convincing a housewife from Marksville or Breaux Bridge or Pierre Part to change.

Another fixture in South Louisiana kitchens is the French drip coffee pot. Usually nothing but dark roast coffee - the kind that stains the cup - is used. Some areas use an auxiliary ingredient, chicory, especially New Orleans. It is said that one ounce of chicory per 16 ounces of coffee will enhance the flavor, but alas, coffee manufacturers run the gamut, sometimes even up to 20 per cent. Chicory is cheaper than coffee - that might explain these flights of fancy. However, *chacun à son goût.*

In the South Louisiana home or yesterday, and to some extent today, you always started the day off with a pot of steaming black coffee - in bed if you were lucky – and this was followed by *café au lait* for breakfast. Also, coffee off and on during the day.

Some Louisianians prefer medium or light roast and others are reduced to various decaffeinated coffees. Dripolators and percolators, or the vacuum method, are all put to use in making coffee. Instant is also used (a venial sin to a loyal Frenchman).

In Civil War days coffee addicts were reduced to parching sweet potatoes as a substitute. Necessity is the mother of invention, *ma chère,* but what a substitute!

If you are having a full meal, say dinner, coffee traditionally is served at the close of the meal, not during the main course. Maybe during the meal with a sandwich or a light snack, but if you serve it with dinner the only explanation is that your Latin blood has thinned out - you're a Yankee or something even worse.

Incidentally, if you go to France and want some black coffee, don't ask for a *demi-tasse.* That's American. Just say *Café* or *Café noir* or perhaps just *Noir.* If you wish cream, say *Café crème.*

In this treatment of Louisiana Creole-Acadian dishes, it should be pointed out that all South Louisianians don't agree on how to cook the same dish, nor are the ingredients always the same. However, there is one area in which there is complete agreement - I never knew a Frenchman who didn't love to eat.

Take the *grillades.* (Actually, the word designates grilled meat.) The most popular way to prepare this dish is to brown veal or beef cutlets, make a *roux,* add onions, salt and pepper, green pepper, thyme, sometimes tomato, water and then «just cook down» until tender. A popular West Baton Rouge cook limits the amount of tomato - «just a tablespoon of paste to give it a glow».

In some areas, breaded veal cutlets are called *grillades* or better still, *côtelettes de veau panées*, or *grillades panées*.

In the Breaux Bridge area, a well-known cook explained that she always marinated her *grillades* in vinegar for about two days. This method apparently is employed to tenderize the meat. Unlike some other areas, she never uses flour for the gravy. «Nevair».

Grillades get along admirably with good old grits. In the Baton Rouge area it is popular to serve this dish «after the football game» because it can all be prepared in advance.

Speaking of grits, authoress Mary Land writes amusingly of this Louisiana staple in her recent book, «New Orleans Cuisine». She says that there is an old saying in Carolina which goes like this: «Never call it hominy grits, or you will give Charlestonians fits». You'll also give some Louisianians fits too, although you do sometimes run into that «hominy grits» crowd. (In New Orleans).

There's a little trick you can play on your northern visitor. Serve him boiled or baked grits and listen well. Nine out of ten times he will say «Please pass me some more grit» - minus the «s». To all Louisianians, North and South, grits is a collective noun and so one should say, «the grits is good».

The Acadian *boucherie*, when the porker squeals his swan song, is still popular over South Louisiana - about the time when cane grinding starts and the frost is on the pumpkin. Neighbors often lend a hand in the hog butchery and as a reward usually go home with a fresh ham or at least some scraps for sausage making.

In the French country one finds *boudin blanc*, and *boudin rouge* or blood sausage. The meat in this sausage can be any cut of the hog. Sometimes it is the scraps, the head and the feet. The better cuts are used for roasts, rib chops, etc. One St. Martinville store owner says that for sausages the meat is boiled, ground coarsely, then cooked green onions, parsley and sometimes garlic are added. Next cayenne pepper and salt, cooked rice and the mixture is stuffed in pork casings. The water of the boiled stock is used as a thinning agent if needed. This is the recipe for *boudin blanc*. For *boudin rouge*, the added ingredient is the porker's blood. Salt is added to keep the blood from coagulating. For 100 pounds of sausage, you can use from one to two gallons of blood.

A completely different sausage is *andouille*, very popular in the Mississippi River parishes of St. James, St. John and St. Charles. You'll find it also in some other sections, but not everywhere in Louisiana. The early German settlers, and later the French, in St.John and St.Charles, seem to have introduced *andouille* to Louisiana. However, *andouille* existed in France at this time and long before. The Germans are good sausage makers and apparently they carried their home customs to the new land.

Andouille is now sold commercially and its preparation has come under stricter regulations. In the old days, it is said, just about everything except the squeal was thrown in. And usually the parts used were not the good cuts. Into the casings went mostly scraps, fatty pieces, stomach linings, the liver, the heart, and even ground up intestines. «And the Lord knows what else», one native pointed out.

The meat is always chopped, not ground. The famous food writer, Waverly Root, says that the name derives from the Latin *inducere*, which means «to introduce». For *andouille* the ingredients are pushed or «introduced» in the casings.

To make *andouille*, one of the lasting contributions of the early Louisiana settlers on the German coast (*Côte des Allemands*), the sausage is smoked in topless and bottomless barrels and hung overhead. Palmetto leaves used to be placed over all. A good *andouille* maker has his wood preferences for smoking and many like pecan and hackberry. Sometimes *bagasse* (what's left of the sugar cane stalk after grinding) is thrown on the smoking fire to give flavor, or even cane syrup.

Andouille is eaten as a sort of hors d'oeuvres (good with beer or a hi-ball) or as meat for a meal, but better still as a flavoring agent in gumbos, especially chicken gumbo, to which *filé* is added.

Hog killing time nets the owner a variety of meats – the *boudin*, bacon (*petit salé*), ham (*jambon*), sausage (*saucisse*), and hogshead cheese (*fromage de Cochon, ou tête fromagée*), and cracklings (*gratons*).

Nothing of the porker is lost – not even the stomach. A delicious dish is the stuffed *ponce*, sometimes called *chaudin*. The stuffing usually includes ground pork, bread and assorted seasoning, sometimes even yams. The stomach is browned and then steamed.

One of the most popular of all Creole-Acadian dishes is gumbo. How it evolved in the New World is an interesting story.

It has been said that the Louisiana Frenchman puts everything into the gumbo but the Creole.

The word for okra in Congolese is *quingombo*. When the slaves arrived in Louisiana, they continued to eat stewed okra. The dish they made came to be called *gombo*, even when other available ingredients such as shrimp, oysters and crab, were added. When okra was not used, the dish was still called *gombo*, or its English equivalent, gumbo.

The evolution of gumbo may have been influenced when the French found that in Louisiana they could not duplicate all of the ingredients for their famed *bouillabaisse*. ».

Okra is the thickening agent. When no okra is used, the Louisiana *filé* provides the thickening agent. Apply the *filé* at about the time you turn off the fire, otherwise the gumbo will be a fiasco – very ropy. The word *filé* comes from the French verb *filer*, to twist. If you let it cook, it will become stringy. This explanation is by the late Dr. W. A. Read in his study of African words that have made their way into Louisiana French.

There are two other meanings of *gombo* in Louisiana. The word is applied to a heavy, sticky soil; also to the Negro-French patois.

There's no end to the different

South Louisiana gumbos - the ingredients could include shrimp, combinations of crabs, oyster, chicken, sausage, duck, squirrel, or what-have-you. *Gombo z'herbes* employs six or seven vegetables and was a mainstay during Lent. If it wasn't a day of abstinence, a piece of salt meat was always used.

In the strict observance of Lenten days of abstinence - and today, too, for that matter - some housewives would «reinforce» the gumbo, that is, make it more nutritious, by dropping in raw eggs which would quickly poach in the gumbo liquid. A family from Broussard still follows this custom today. Another adds eggs, but hard-cooked ones.

Along with gumbo, various soups are an important part of the Creole-Acadian cuisine today. A popular dish is fresh corn and tomato soup. If you lived along the Mississippi or other streams that provided shrimp, there was nothing better than to add river shrimp to the soup. The inroads of industry along the Mississippi with its accompanying pollution have just about ruined this supply, however.

Let us not leave this soup category before commenting on a dish strangely called *maquechou*, which is Indian-style stewed corn and tomatoes, to which shrimp was often added. This is just about the same as corn-tomato soup, without the water. In former days in many French homes soup found its way to the table almost daily. There was great variety here including white bean soup, and turtle soup - you name it, they had it.

On a par with gumbo in the eyes of a South Louisiana Frenchman is jambalaya - «jumbalaya» if you're from the country. This is a Spanish-Creole dish made with rice and other ingredients which range from any seafood, ground meat, ham, duck, crawfish, sausage, chicken, turkey - even cowpeas. In this latter case it's called *jambalaya aux congris*. Sometimes tomatoes are used for flavor and color. One South Louisianian described the contents of gumbo as «just about everything short of sweeping up the kitchen floor».

There are many schools of thought in jambalaya-making but most agree that the dish is better if you add raw rice to the other ingredients rather than cooked rice.

A variant would be something jocularly called «dirty» rice. Perhaps the chopped chicken livers and gizzards added to the rice contribute to the «dirty» look of this dish, which, incidentally, is usually served more moist than the jambalaya. But jambalaya or «dirty» rice - they're both yummy-yum good!

Shellfish is very much a part of South Louisiana cookery, especially crawfish (crayfish if you're from the North - that is, if you live north of Alexandria, La. Crawfish used to be a seasonal dish, but now the crawfish are grown commercially and the availability has been greatly extended. They were even on the market last Christmas.

Crawfish bisque (*la bisque d'érevisse*) is as popular as ever in Louisiana and one doesn't have to go far to find crawfish in stews, pies, or just fried. The *pièce de résistance*, we believe, is the so-called *crawfish étouffée* (smothered crawfish), said to have been started commercially by a Breaux Bridge, La. restauranteur, Mme Harris Champagne who said that one day she didn't have enough time to make a *roux* and so she combined onion, butter and crawfish tails and sautéed all. She liked it better than with the flour, as in crawfish stew. She put this on her menu and soon the idea spread.

The *étoufée* is served over rice which South Louisiana folks dearly love. They like potatoes, too, but rice comes first, and like soup, it used to be eaten daily in the French homes.

Fresh and salt water fish are plentiful in Louisiana and the Creole-Acadian kitchens make the most of them. Spicy *sauce piquante*, heavy with tomato, finds its way not only over fish, but with chicken and other meats, including even squirrel. Fish *courtbouillon*, with red fish or red snapper, is deep French country fare.

Shrimp is a mainstay in South Louisiana and is served stewed, fried or stuffed and often used to season vegetables. Shrimp Creole is a mainstay in Creole-Acadian cuisine.

Many old wives' tales have developed over food poisoning, partly because of the lack of refrigeration. This especially applied to milk and seafood. An uncle firmly believed that mixing raw oysters with a whiskey highball would quickly put you under the sod.

Oysters abound in Louisiana cookery, but their use, especially in the old days where proper refrigeration was lacking, was limited to areas near where they were found. The most celebrated oyster dish in the *haute cuisine* would probably be Oysters Rockefeller and the most popular would probably be *au naturelle* on the half-shell.

Oyster soup is delicious and is usually made with milk and cream, but in the old Creole cuisine, the soup was also made without the dairy product. Some soup fanciers use clam juice to compensate for the lack of good oyster water. Bottled oysters sold in the supermarket are washed in compliance with health laws and this can be detrimental to flavor.

Crab boils, with beer as the beverage, are popular all over South Louisiana. The meat of the crab is quite a luxury item these days and, of course, should never be frozen for best results. Frog legs are welcome in some homes, not all. The old story about how they jump in the pot while being cooked is not just fable. As a child I used to squeal with delight when they did.

One of the most typical of Acadian dishes is *coush-coush*, a sort of fried cornbread eaten as a cereal with milk and sugar, or with syrup.

Eggplant, squash and *mirliton* (vegetable pear) lend variety to the South Louisiana cookery. There are many ways to prepare these. Our choice is stuffed *mirliton*. This delightful vegetable came to Louisiana from the West Indies. *Mirliton* is the name of the vegetable in Haitian-French. It is called *chayote* in Spain.

Crisp fried eggplant slices are an example of distinctive South Louisiana cookery. A unique touch is to lightly sprinkle sugar over the slices before serving. *Magnifique!*

A typical Creole-Acadian dish is *bouilli* (boiled beef) using brisket or soup meat. This dish is often accompanied by vegetables cooked along with the meat.

Or perhaps the meat is served only with a horseradish-tomato sauce. Game birds have from the early days been an important item in Creole-Acadian fare, including the dove, the elusive snipe and quail (bobwhite).

Duck dishes - goose too - have held a high spot in Louisiana cookery. The marshes seem to beckon to these winged visitors from the North. The mallard duck is regal fare.

One species that is definitely not popular is the *poule d'eau* (pronounced as pool doo). This is the water duck whose flesh has a fishy flavor. However, the clever cook can minimize objectionable flavors.

A story made the rounds in Baton Rouge about a newcomer from the North who unwittingly chose *poule d'eau* as her principal supper dish for a large function. To this day they still talk about Miss X's faux pas. (One last comment on *poule d'eau* – just don't pull the trigger while hunting - let him go on his merry fishy hunt).

A dish popular on many tables - sometimes called «soul food» - is red beans and rice. The beans are usually cooked with a generous cut of salt meat or hambone. It is on the regular menu of many South Louisiana families.

The truffle, a black subterranean edible fungus, is not really included in the category of Creole cuisine, but the truffle did once grow in Louisiana. For this little culinary morsel we are indebted to the Breazeale family of Natchitoches. On the banks of a stream where there were oak trees the family often hunted for truffles, using dogs. In Europe, traditionally, truffle farmers train hogs for this task, but dogs are used too.

The truffles, which have a nutty flavor, were sort of dark tan in Natchitoches - in Europe you have the black truffle of some regions in France and the white truffle of Italy. H. Payne Breazeale says that many years have passed since they hunted truffles - it seems that the time was usually after a spring rain when the dogs were able to get a scent. Truffles are costly - a small one about one inch by two sells retail for around $4.00. The Breazales used them to flavor gravies. Often you truffle a turkey and you do this by inserting slivers of the truffle between the skin and the meat of the turkey. They impart a delicious flavor to a creamed sauce.

The French influence in food is very much evident at Natchitoches, unlike most areas in North Louisiana. One of the dishes that has become synonymous with the name Natchitoches is the meat pie, a delicious individual pie of beef and pork. This, however, sounds more English than French.

An institution in Louisiana is the Poor Boy sandwich. One would not think this exactly fits in the category of Creole cuisine, but it really does and dates to the Creole French. In French ***pourboire*** means tip or more precisely, money with which to drink to the donor's health. Delivery boys and just plain beggars would knock at the back door of a New Orleans convent and ask for a ***pourboire***. The Sisters didn't believe in drinking and had little money, so they gave out sandwiches instead, and what sandwiches - a whole small loaf of French bread sliced horizontally, and filled with whatever was in the larder. English-speaking beggars soon found out about these ***pourboires*** and imagined that they were for «Po' Boys», which of course, they were. Today the Poor Boy sandwich is filled with just about anything, sliced beef, often with gravy, or oysters or any kind of meat. Poor Boys are popular over the entire Southwest.

A delightful French custom that used to prevail in the Creole homes was the *coup de milieu*, when sherbet or a flavored ice was served in the middle of an extended meal. This was taken as an aid to digestion and to provide a little break in the dining. This custom was not universal, of course, and was limited to the more affluent homes and to anniversaries, dinners and banquets.

In the North of France (in Normandy) one finds a delightful variation—they serve Calvados (Apple Jack Brandy). The custom is called a *trou Normand.* The idea, or rather excuse, was that the spirits made a *trou* (hole or gap) in the throat to make way for more food to come. A Louisiana variant in Creole New Orleans is something called «Creole beer», consisting of brandy, champagne, ginger ale, and crushed pineapples.

Beverages in the South Louisiana home include wine, but beer, coffee and iced tea are favorites. «We used to drink a lot of root beer and lemonade when we were growing up», one South Louisianian confided. «Also some whiskey, too, yes.»».

Another drink, *très distinguée*, is the mint julep - Bourbon whiskey over crushed ice, mint and sweetened water. This probably is more Old South than Creole.

In the realm of spirits, we want to mention cherry bounce, a potent drink made of wild cherries, Bourbon whiskey and sugar. It is a sort of a «pick up» drink, something to serve instead of coffee when friends drop by. Port and sherry are also served, but cherry bounce, very well named, is considered something special.

An unusual wine tale is related by a Baton Rougean. It is a true story, avers an old friend, a descendant of one of Napoleon Bonaparte's soldiers who made their way to Louisiana following Waterloo. It concerns five transplanted Frenchmen who wished to return to France for just one visit before they died. Each expressed a wish that they be buried in their new homeland, Louisiana. All went well on the sea voyage, they met distant kin and were wined and dined extensively in France, but on the long sea voyage returning, one of the five died aboard ship.

Consternation set in - how could they get the body back to Louisiana for interment! They rubbed Gallic heads together and suddenly one of them came up with an ingenious plan - and it worked. They simply deposited the poor soul in a large barrel of French wine. A good preservative, because when the ship pulled into the Port of New Orleans, the remains of their poor departed was in tip-top shape. And he happily got to be buried in the soil of Louisiana.

A popular Yuletide drink in South Louisiana is eggnog. In some French homes they have not capitulated to the universally popular rich, cold southern eggnog. Instead, a less rich hot drink, akin to a Tom and Jerry, is served. Fruit cake and other traditional Christmas cakes, and other sweets also make the rounds.

In the line of desserts, perhaps the most Creole of dishes would be *crêpes.* The *beignet,* a fritter or doughnut, is quite tasty. Fig ice cream was popular, also almond nougat and pecan pralines. On Twelfth Night in many homes all over the state one is served King's Cake. In New Orleans, especially, King's Cake is on the menu for January 6 celebrations which open the Carnival season.

In the Cajun country especially, one may be served *oreilles de cochon* (deep-fried pastries shaped like pig's ears). Just as good, but eaten at breakfast, is *pain perdu* (lost bread), sometimes called French toast, soaked in a sweetened egg and cream mixture and fried.

A dish perennially popular is bread pudding. In some areas the dish is enhanced by pouring over a butter-sugar - Bourbon whiskey sauce. Less popular today but superior in every way is floating island (*île flottante*).

Time changes all of our lives and many of the old food customs are disappearing. More wives are working today and the old adage that «slow cookery is good cookery» sometimes has flown out of the window.

Among the changes is the old institution of the bountiful Sunday dinner. A friend once remarked sadly that her little boy would grow into manhood without ever really knowing what Sunday dinner meant. A sad commentary indeed.

Today in Louisiana there seems to be a resurgence of things French, thanks to the efforts of the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL). Let us hope, in addition to a re-birth of *la langue française*, the culinary traditions as exemplified in Louisiana's unique Creole-Acadian cuisine will remain with us for all time.

Adherence to the sometimes rich South Louisiana cookery is great - that is if you don't weaken with heartburn or culinary mishap. It was William Makepeace Thackeray who found New Orleans «the city of the world where you can eat and drink the most and suffer the least.» So there! *Bon appétit!*

Baton Rouge

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